

FASCISM OF SANGH PARIVAR



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Introduction: I

Dark Clouds of Communal Politics

Recent times have seen a great intensification of attacks on the rights of weaker sections of society in general and on our democratic rights in particular. The process which picked up tempo after the Shah Bano case (reversal of the Supreme court judgement by an act of Parliament, after the Govt. decided to appease the communal section of Muslim leadership), and was followed by events like opening of the locks of Babri Masjid, rath yatra, demolition of the Babri Masjid and the consequent anti-Muslim pogroms in Mumbai, Surat Bhopal and many other places), has been followed by the current anti Christian propaganda and accompanying attacks on them.

This decade of 80's has been the one in which the major target of the Sangh Parivar (SP) has been the Muslim community. The major communal violence, anti-Muslim pogroms were conducted with precision by the various wings of Sangh Parivar. Most of the inquiry commission reports have indicted the members of SP for being instrumental in these riots in one way or the other. In these riots nearly 65% of the victims have been the poor Muslims, while other poor strata of the society constitute the remaining. The attacks on them and consequent ghettoisation was preceded and accompanied hate campaign against them. This hate campaign, was based on the misinformation which was actively propagated by the SP and later became the part of 'social common sense'. Also that the Muslims are responsible for the Partition, they are more loyal to Pakistan, Muslim Kings destroyed Hindu Temples, they spread Islam on the strength of the sword, that they tortured the Hindus, that they are polygamous and do not follow the family planning norms.

From 1980 to 2001 the ire of SP was gunned against the Christian population. The Churches were attacked, Bibles burnt, missionaries intimidated, and one of them Fr. Stains, who was working amongst the leprosy patients and the other deprived sections of society, was burnt along with his two minor sons. The attack on this community has been preceded and is being accompanied by a sustained campaign to malign them: Christianity is a foreign religion, Christian missionaries are indulging in forcible conversions, they are instrumental for spreading insurgency amongst the North Eastern people, there is a plan to Evangelise the country and shortly Christians will outnumber the Hindus there by making India a Christian state. The same phase of our polity has seen increasing incidences of violence against women, more so in the states ruled by the BJP govt. This period of our society has also seen massacre of Dalits and increase in the atrocities against them (Laxaman Pur Bathe, and Shankar Bigha massacre of Dalits: both by the Ranvir Sena, which has the tacit support of the Rich landlords and also has the political patronage of BJP. Also ten Dalits in Ramabai Ambedkar Nagar in Ghatkopar, Mumbai, (where the BJP-Shiv Sena coalition rules) fell victim to the police bullets. This period has also witnessed the worst attacks on the rights of workers whose organized strength has been reduced to a miniscule and there has occurred a proliferation of the small sector, where working conditions are the worst possible. The social justice scene has also been the worst, and the post-Mandal aspirations have been "successfully" sidetracked to the margins, in the din of religion based campaigns.

These attacks are being conducted by different organizations like BJP, VHP, Bajrang Dal and many others like Hindu Jagaran Manch and Hindu Munnani, which are floated for the specific purpose of pursuing a particular agenda of the Hindutva politics. All these diverse and unconnected looking activities are coordinated by RSS, which is the CORE of Hindutva movement and the basic unit from where all the activists of this movement are trained and to which the members of Sangh Parivar owe their unflinching loyalty.

Prior to this during last four -five decades one has witnessed the anti Muslim propaganda creating the ground for systematic violence against them. This propaganda was based on total fabrications. Similarly currently they are spreading the anti Christian venom by propagating that they indulge in forcible conversions, their educational institutions and hospitals are a mere ploy to convert the poor, Christianity is a foreign religion, they are anti-Nationals etc. These fabrications begin in the RSS *shakha Bouddhik* (intellectual sessions) and through various conveyor belts find their way to the common sense of society.

BJP the political offspring of RSS has been in power in center, mainly in alliance with the other regional parties. This phase has witnessed many a changes, which are deeply at communalizing civic society. The Godhra episode followed by the anti Muslim pogrom in Gujarat has demonstrated the qualitative change in the nature of communal violence and the notions prevalent in section of population. The Gujarat carnage in a way has also woken up large section of concerned people to the dangers of communal politics.

Introduction II

A. What is Fascism:

The term fascist has been applied by many to the Hindutva movement. Is it justified? The term fascist, when not used rigorously has been applied to different dictatorial and totalitarian tendencies. What is the precise social and political meaning of this term?

Fascism : Historical Trajectory –

Historically this phenomenon showed its initial manifestation after the First World war in different European states. These movements were characterized by rejection of ideal of parliamentary democracy, opposition to working class movement and philosophy of socialism. These movements were violently nationalistic or racist and believed in vague anti-capitalism. The main hallmark of their preaching was submission to authority and discipline. For them nation, race and state are the central regulators of history and life. Major intellectual tradition behind racism is ultraconservatism, rejection of the spirit of Democratic revolution with its emphasis on individual liberty and on equality of men and races. Enlightenment, which had served to enhance the dignity of individual, simultaneously emphasizing openness in secularized society, also stands condemned by fascist forces. In total contrast to this, Fascism calls for the revival of spirit of ancient regimes, and extends the supreme sovereignty of nation as 'absolute'. In contrast to 'liberty, equality, fraternity' Fascist movement put forward 'to believe, to obey, to combat'.

Racial purity and anti-Semitism were amongst the prevalent bases of Fascism. Fascist movement had the mindset, which glorified fighting spirit. Fascist movements believed in the will of the leader, or leadership, whose decisions are to be obeyed blindly. It obeys authoritarian order, which is based upon subordination of individual and it has an explicit theory of inequality of caste and rank. Fascism emphasizes on the sovereignty of the state, with maintenance of law and order being the highest guiding principle. Also the state becomes the object of awe and emotional veneration. State in turn becomes an absolute power, which acts for its own self interests without consideration for humanitarian principle, or for the rights of individuals or of other states.

Breeding ground of Fascism

Many a European states which were not adequately socially and politically modernized were under great pressure, which was intensified by World War I (WWI). Some of these like Germany, Italy and Japan had entered the war hoping to gain extensive territory, wealth & achievement of the status equivalent to more developed countries. The defeat in WWI produced deep moral and psychological shock in these countries. The propertied classes were frightened by the unrest of the poor and oppressed. Instead of carrying social

reforms they sought to impose a dictatorial regime, which could further crush the socially oppressed. Generally Fascist movements were inspired by feelings of national disappointment and wanted to achieve the assumed goal of revival of national glory.

Social and economic backdrop

Extreme poverty inflation, malnutrition, unemployment and uneven development of countries formed the backdrop against which Fascist movement flourished. These movements employed anti-individualism and authoritarianism in modernizing economically backward societies. Post WWI economic conditions were bad in Germany, Italy and elsewhere. Inflation and unemployment struck hard in the middle class. There was great general discontent: unemployment and poverty. Fascism as a mass political phenomenon was the response of upper and middle classes to real and imaginary threats like recession, unrest of poor and unemployed & organized working class.

Fascism in Italy

Early in 1920s Italy saw a worsening of economic and political crisis. Hopes that the sacrifices of war will be rewarded by social reforms were quashed. Industrial workers and peasants arose in a widespread strikes and demonstrations against the prevailing living conditions. Italian ex-officers from middle class were angry that although the country had fought on winning side, it had not gained its just rewards in the form of territories in the Mediterranean and colonies in Africa. They were faced with increasing unemployment and impoverishment. In this atmosphere Benito Mussolini (1883-1945) emerged as a charismatic leader. From 1902 to 1914 he as a radical Marxist, and went on to become the editor of Avanti, a socialist daily. He was extremist in his Marxist views during this phase. He was also influenced by 20th century emphasis on vitality and biological vital force i.e. he believed more in a synthesis of Nietzsche and Sorel with Marx. This inclination to a heroic and active life helped him to propagate for Italy's entrance into war on the side of allies.

On this issue he broke with socialist party and founded his own paper. Mussolini imposed his ideas of dictatorial regime to implement strict censorship, secret police was given wide power and political opposition was dealt with ruthlessly. Some of the leaders of the opposition then were executed and others were put in internal exile at remote places. A totalitarian corporatist state emerged. The productivity was central to industries and state had a firm grip on the economy. The old business elite remained as powerful as ever.

The fascist party adopted 'FASCES', as its symbol. This was picked up from the tradition of ancient Rome, where a bundle of rods around an axe were used for whipping people, and was carried in front of the rulers. It symbolized Italy's dream of Roman Empire. It in a way meant, challenging British domination of Mediterranean. Fascists in Italy propagated that they have been denied their share of colonial wealth and territory to which they could have exported their unemployed and impoverished peasantry. Italy's leading industrialists were willing to put up with Fascism. Italian Fascists became Semitic after joining Rome-Berlin axis. Their main theoretical foundation was 'leadership by elite', 'Power comes from top down' translated in practical terms they

propagated 'believe, obey, fight'. Italian Fascism collapsed after their defeat in World War II, but despite this old structures of Italy industry, finance, law enforcement, military and church emerged intact.

Fascism in Germany

National pride in Germany had been wounded by the peace terms imposed by WWI allies. German defeat was followed by great unrest in the country. There were many uprisings of the oppressed, which were suppressed by the social democratic government with the help of the army and extreme right wing mercenary free corps. It was free corps, which killed Rosa Luxembourg and Karl Liebknecht, the leaders of workers unions. Nationalist Social German workers party, the Nazi party came up in this atmosphere of inflation, unemployment and insecurity. This party promised to attack the bondage of interest imposed by banks and big business (i.e. Jewish firms) to create social unity in the cause of German people (Das Volk; the concepts based on myths of German race, its past glory), to put the will of community before the will of the individual.

Hitler, the future leader of Nazi party, enunciated his ideas in his autobiography 'Mein Kampf'. Hitler's party became crucially important after the economic crisis of the 1930's. Hitler was able to project himself as a suitable candidate for chancellorship by obtaining the support of important number of industrialists, right wing politicians and the army. Hitler's party came to power, legally, with the support of conservatives, who hoped that Nazis would crush the left. As soon as Nazis captured power they banned trade unions and left wing parties. The critics of Nazism: communists and socialists were put in concentration camps. Education, culture and the church were brought under Nazi control and Germany became a totalitarian state, with Hitler as supreme leader, 'The Fuehrer'. One of the wings of the party was the 'storm troopers' (brown shirts). The Nazis started controlling different aspects of work and leisure of workers and youth.

Racism was central to Nazi philosophy. They propagated ideas of Eugenics, breeding between people of high intelligence to produce a superior race. American eugenic society advocated sterilization of insane, the retarded children and adults. Similarly they were strong advocates of 'Ethnic Cleansing', maintaining that Jews were a threat to 'Pure Aryan stock' of the Germans. As per them 'Jews are an alien body, a body that creates ill feeling, disease, ever-festering sores and death. They are the cause of putrefaction and should be destroyed as quickly and as thoroughly as possible'. Later they were to implement this in practice to unleash genocide of Jews. Nazi leadership went on to undertake the policy of territorial expansion leading to WWII. German industry was complicit with the Nazis. They confiscated the Jewish properties and used the concentration camps, as a source of cheap labor, for their factories. Nazism collapsed with German defeat in 2nd World War Germany was divided into East and West Germany.

Other Fascist Movements in Europe:

Simultaneously in other countries of Europe also, other fascist movements had come up, but none of them was strong enough to seize power. Moreover the defeat of German fascists in WWII sealed the fate of these movements many of these were deriving strength and support from German and Italian fascist regimes. In these countries Fascists had made common cause with the authoritarian semi-feudal structures against Western liberalism, represented by a weak domestic middle class, and an often-exaggerated threat of labor movement. In many countries like Britain, Switzerland, Sweden and Denmark, liberal parliamentary forces proved strong enough to keep fascist movements in check. In many other countries reactionary elements used fascist movements as their support. The most significant of these was the case of Spain. In Spain fascist government came to power as a result of military rebellion and civil war which lasted from 1936-39. Spanish fascist movement maintained the Spain had been corrupted by the ideas of Enlightenment & French bourgeoisie revolution. At the end of civil war General Franco came to power, with the help of units of German & Italian armies. Victory of Franco, fascist forces, was followed by a dictatorial regime. The workers organizations were totally decimated.

Characteristics of Fascist Movements

Superficial manifestation of all fascist movements was different but they had many features in common.

- (1) Their political philosophies were a mix of radical ideas and mysticism, of the left wing sounding slogans and conservative politics.
- (2) They all achieved a powerful executive, sans democratic consultation. They all shared a dislike and hatred for socialism and liberalism. Basically they were opposed to movements based on class differences and aimed to bring in a corporate state that denied divergence of class interests between capitalists and workers, between exploiters and the exploited.
- (3) Their mass parties were on paramilitary lines drawing the recruits even from discontented workers.
- (4) They all admired the cult of violence, training for war, giving free reign to sadistic psychopathological character traits. Authoritarian programs, emphasizing conformity, discipline and submission came to hold sway, followed by militarization of society directed by a messianic leader.
- (5) Nostalgia for glorified, mythical and legendary past came to the fore in the cultural and political sphere. Intellectuals not conforming to the myths came under the attack of the movement.
- (6) Idealized picture of rural life, hiding its poverty, backwardness, was projected as a model, for healthy life.
- (7) Women were relegated to traditional female roles as housewives, servants, nurses and breeders of racially pure warriors for the army.
- (8) Big industrialists and landowners frequently subsidized fascism while it's main electoral support came from middle class, especially the lower middle class, worst hit by the economic crisis.

- (9) Fascism always needed scapegoat enemies “The other” whom it projected to be the cause of present social ills, against whom all social hate aggression was directed.

Neo Fascist Movements:

Last two decades have seen the resurgence of Neo Fascist movements, whose main plank is racism. Immigrants and blacks are projected as the “other” and are made subjects of physical attacks and violence. They share a common platform of racist and anti-Semitic policies. Political supporters of Neo-fascism are growing in numbers, amongst intellectuals, judiciary, police, military, finance and industry. Intellectuals of new ‘far right’ are active in many countries, giving a veneer of respectability to the new fascist movements. At home the ‘Hindutva’ movement is closest to the fascist movements of Europe. The conditions, which are at base of fascist or Neo-fascist movements, can be summed up as follows:

Recessionary left alternative, dissatisfaction with an inefficient or corrupt political system, racism or its variants, provoked by ‘job stealing immigrants’ or ‘mushrooming population of ‘the others’, a respectable right, nostalgia for a strong state and the glorious past. Nostalgia for strong state and glorious past is the product of loss of identity or national prestige and difficulty or adjusting in a society in which large number of citizens are unemployed and unlikely to be ever employed. This is supplemented by inability to admit and come to terms with the realities of a multiethnic societies and cultures.

Fascism is a social movement, and like any other social movement, its roots are not in the mind or the realm of ideology but in society. Fascists destroy labor movement, actively help further exploitation of labor and pursue aggressive trading policies. In European and other countries where fascist movements captured power, they worked for autarchy, a massive re-armament and finally they unleashed the World War.

In Germany, fascists welcomed the aggressiveness and the skill of German Industry and used them to stabilize their own authority. They had identical strengths and they reinforced each other. It uses terror to stabilize the capitalist regime, and achieve the highest possible exploitation of labor. Fascism is a phenomenon of states, which have achieved a particular level of industrial development. The movement is triggered off by a severe socio-economic crisis threatening considerable section of society with loss of status and economic ruin, plunging society into wide spread feeling of uncertainty and fear. It occurs in countries with unstable socio-economic balance. It is a response of the ruling classes to the upsurge of mass movements. Fascism recruits its mass following from a politicized, threatened and frightened middle class. These regimes are characterized by fascist party leadership and traditional elite of industry, banking, bureaucracy and the military. This relationship is a bilateral affair. These parties were not just the tools in the hands of capitalist elite, nor could they establish the undiluted primacy of politics. Social function of fascism was to stabilize,

strengthen and to some extent transform capitalist property relations to ensure the continuing dominance of the capitalist class. The terror of fascist regimes was directed against the movements of the exploited sections of society. Thus fascism is a terror regime which does away with the trappings of parliamentary democracy. These regimes deliberately use ideology to manipulate and divert the frustrations of mass following away from their objective source, simultaneously pursuing aggressive and expansions foreign political aims.

B. What is Fundamentalism?

With increase in the communalization of society the fundamentalist components of Sangh Parivar have started influencing the society. While it is commonly believed that Islam is the base of Fundamentalism it is missed out that any religion can be made the base of this phenomenon. The point that only Semitic religions can provide the ground for Fundamentalism is taken care by semitizing Hinduism itself. As such the Brahminical stream has been the dominant stream in Hinduism. During last two decades projecting Ram as the holy deity, Vedas as The holy books, and Acharyas as the holy clergy have achieved the semitization process of Hinduism. The Sangh Parivar phenomenon exhibits features of both fundamentalism and fascism.

Fundamentalism is many a times used for the idea of going back to the fundamentals of religions. As a social phenomenon it does not convey the full meaning of the term.

In broad sense the term denotes those religious movements, which claim doctrines to be immutable and demand from believers a literal acceptance of the tenets of religion contained in the sacred books as interpreted by them. Fundamentalism rejects attempts at rational interpretation and prefers blind faith to the arguments based on reason. It demands a blind, strict observance of all traditional religious prescriptions. There are three basic trends in this phenomenon, “ First, fundamentalisms are inevitably political. Secondly, fundamentalist movements are also genuinely religious: ‘We will fail to understand these movements if we neglect their irreducible religious dimension’. Thirdly, religious fundamentalisms are hegemonic, anti-pluralist movements that are constrained in their impact by the conflicting demands made upon them by their dual identity as inherently religious and inherently political entities.” (Kanungao P., RSS’ s Tryst With Politics, Manohar, Delhi, 2002, p.15)

In a way Fundamentalism is a strategy of vested interests of society who stand to oppose social transformation. This they do in the form of revival of set of doctrines from scriptures or religious traditions, which they project to be opposed to the changes society is witnessing. They oppose the changes in the name of defending the faith of belabored religious community, whose identity is threatened as per them. In order to preserve this identity the social norms of the era gone-by are reasserted. The retrieval of doctrines is very selective. These ‘fundamentals’ are redefined as per their social contingency. Essentially this exercise aims to fend off the new set of social values, which threaten status quo. And all this is done in a religious language for better effect. It does not intend at artificial imposition of old practices and life styles nor does it aim a simple return to a

sacred past, a golden era, “Instead religious identity thus renewed becomes exclusive and absolute basis for recreated political and social order that is oriented to future rather than the past. By selecting elements of tradition and modernity, fundamentalists seek to remake the world in the service of dual commitment to the unfolding eschatological drama (by returning all things in submission to the divine) and to self-preservation (by neutralizing the threatening other). (Marty M.E. and Appleby R.S., *Accounting for Fundamentalisms*, Chicago Press, 1994) Fundamentalists are involved with political life even when they attempt to preserve their separateness from secular society. They do participate in the matters related to modernization, development. Political structure etc.

Thus it can be inferred that it is a social movement targeting against liberal values of society against society's potential march towards non-hierarchical relationships. It is an imposition of retrograde conservative values, selectively culled out from religious books or practices. It suppresses the fact that there is no homogeneity within religions, and constructs the version of religion suitable for vested interest. Despite the superficial opposition between different fundamentalisms they share these basic creeds, each claims that there is only true creed based on divine law. All fundamentalisms feel threatened by pluralism.

This phenomenon increases the intensity of its appeal, it creates hysteria against an internal imaginary or real enemy. In Saudi Arabia it is targeted against women, In India against Muslims and Christians, in Iran, the previous ruler Raza Shah was used as a whipping boy. Its projection past is a ruse while what is being demanded is a pattern of modern practice.

The term was first used to denote the orthodox trend in modern Protestantism, which emerged in North America just before First World War as a response to the spread of theological modernism and liberalism in Christianity. After 1910 this trend came to be known as Fundamentalism. Its proponents demanded stronger faith in traditional Christian dogma and particularly in the unquestioned infallibility of Bible. These beliefs and practices were widely shared in US throughout nineteenth century. The followers of this phenomenon took on the battle through their own institutions and through Nation's schools. They organized campaigns against religious liberalism in the churches and the teachings of evolution in the schools. But they did loose out in the battle and modern voices of rationalism prevailed. Irrespective of their defeat they did build up massive institutional infrastructure for spread of their ideas.

In Islamic countries it came to the forefront since the coming in of Ayatollah Khoemini, who could come to power due to the misrule of American puppet, Raza Shah Pahlavi. Currently some countries are fully in grip of such a movement, while some others are having state sponsored Islamic revivalism and a political and social system through partial implementation of Sharia. In Pakistan it has been coming to fore off and on and Hudood ordinance has been one of the reflections of this trend. This ordinance sanctions flogging for adultery and rape, removing the distinction between the two. It has brought a law of evidence whereby; weigthage of the evidence of women was reduced to half of that of man.

Hindu fundamentalism is becoming more assertive from 1980s. Sangh Parivar, which has been taken for detailed evaluation in this book, is a mix of fascist and fundamentalist traits.

Chapter 1

Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh

Background:

Communal problem in India is a product of colonial economy. The failure of the 1857 revolt resulted in replacement of feudal set up by a colonial setup. Colonial economy was slow growing, and had a limited possibility of jobs and other opportunities. Initially colonial policies generated the growth and economic domination of merchant-money lenders (who were by and large Hindus). Hindus could take maximum advantage of modern education and accordingly a place in bureaucracy. Post 1857 anti-Muslim bias of British gave a slight edge to Hindus, who took to modern enterprises/professions with great keenness. Sir Syed Ahmed noticed this and advised Muslims to take to modern education in a big way.

Formation of Indian National Congress: Reactions

British, 'plunder project' aimed at creating markets for their goods and taking away the raw materials from here. In order to do these, they set up new ventures here in agrarian, commercial and industrial arenas. In these, Indians first acted as subordinates but soon adopted to modern technologies and with this a new class of merchants, bankers, landlords, industrialists, plantation owners and brokers emerged. Introduction of English education took place in 1835 to produce a class of clerks and administrators. This changing social dynamics laid the foundation of the new phenomenon of 'nationalism'. In a very elementary form this changed scenario formed the backdrop for rise of different reform movements and new associations and unions of economic, social and political nature on the western pattern. In due course, the intelligentsia started demanding widening of franchise, simultaneous examinations for administrative services, Indianization of services and emerging industrialists supported them adding their demands for increased industrialization in India. A spirit of Indian consciousness started emerging for the first time and this was due to a combination of various factors like material demands of newly emerging classes (professionals, businessmen, and industrialists). Modern education, communication (railways, telegraphs, hatred for British racial arrogance, economic exploitation, weaknesses of judiciary. British rule and the process unleashed by them were pregnant with contradictory processes. Free press created a strong impetus for the rise of national consciousness. This led to the formation of local regional associations aimed at voicing the grievances of new elite and projecting their vision of 'nation'. To name a few: the Bombay association, Madras natives association, Pune Sarvajanik Sabha, Bombay Association and Madras Mahajan Sabha. The major meeting of these associations started taking place and the one such which took place in Calcutta in 1883 was the precursor of the formation of the INC (Indian National Congress) in 1886. INC expressed the ambitions of these associations and rising classes and asked for holding of Indian civil service exam in India, more facilities for the Industry and commerce and land reforms.

Sir Syed Ahmed got alarmed by the protest activities of the rising groups of industrialists and civil servants and kept aloof from this. Instead he set out to organize the *Jagirdari* elements amongst Muslims, and along with his followers, he propagated that Congress is meant for the interests of the Hindus and 'low born' classes. In contrast to Congress demand for representation he was for nomination of elite by the British and said that the British are the best guardians of the Muslim interests in India. Later these efforts culminated in the formation of Muslim league, which stood for the interests of Muslim landlords and *Nawabs* of *Riyasats*.

From 1870's, a section of Hindu *zamindars*, moneylenders and middle class professionals began to arouse anti-Muslim sentiments, simultaneously opposing the Congress goal of a single nation, of a common nation irrespective of religious identities. They talked of tyrannical rule of Muslim rulers and the role of British in giving liberation from that. The leader of Arya Samaj, Pandit Lekh Ram went on to condemn all forms of Islam and demanded that Muslims should be expelled from India or converted to Aryanism. They founded 'Punjab Hindu Sabha', and were hostile to Indian National Congress (INC): as per them INC's role of uniting people of different religions into a single nation meant sacrificing Hindu interests to *appease* Muslims. As per them Hindu is a Hindu first and then an Indian. In due course these efforts led to the foundations of Hindu Mahasabha, RSS and Muslim league. Though these formations appear to be opposed to each other, they had lot in common. They were opposed to the concept of Secular India, they did not oppose the British rule; they were not involved in anti-British struggles; they opposed land reforms; they had intense hatred for Congress politics; they believed in 'Two nation theory' (though in a different ways); they consolidated their base on the basis of hatred of other community; and they had following amongst the landlords and traditional business class. Their 'two nation theories' were polar contrast of each other. Muslim League projected that since Muslims are a separate Nation they should have a separate state carved out for them. Hindu Mahasabha and RSS believed that this land belongs to Hindus so all those religions that have not originated in this land should remain subordinate to the Hindus.

Muslim League wanted to appropriate maximum privileges for the rich Muslims. Their main plank was that Muslims are 25% of the population, but for passing any legislation 2/3 majority is necessary, Muslims should be granted 1/3 representation in legislatures so that they can prevent anti-Muslim legislation's, Congress rejected this demand. Jinnah emerged as the major leader of Muslim League. Two-nation theory was simultaneously accepted by Muslim communalists (Chowdhary Rahmat Ali, Muslim League) and Hindu Communalists (Hindu Mahasabha, RSS). Thus along with the birth of Congress, began two opposite, but in some way similar, trends, which were opposed to the secular politics of Congress. Sir Syed Ahmed who opened this campaign in 1887 expressed the first of these, and the second of these was the Hindu revivalist streams.

British rulers realized the differences between Hindu and Muslim elite and embarked on the policy of *divide-et-empere* (divide and rule). With the formation of Indian National Congress, they were very uncomfortable with its demands. Sir Syed's opposition to these demands came in handy for them and they encouraged Sir Syed and his elite followers in their 'communal demands'. British played their cards well and taking advantage of Hindu Muslim elite divide; they tried to snub the INC (Indian National

Congress) times and over again. They recognized a group of Muslim Nawabs and Jagirdars (Shimla delegation) as the representative of Muslims, and similarly encouraged the Hindu Mahasabha and R.S.S. who had major following amongst Hindu *Jamindars*, Rajas of *Riyasats*, *Brahmins* and *Baniyas*.

Foundation of R.S.S.

In early twenties the failure of 'Congress-Khilafat' alliance, Gandhi's unilateral withdrawal of non-cooperation movement and a wave of riots communalised the whole atmosphere. This was also the time when Arya Samajs' *shuddhi* (literally purification, it was meant to wean back dalits who had converted to Sikhism, Christianity and Islam), Muslim communalists' *tabligh* (propaganda) and tanzim (organization) (a parallel of *Shuddhi* to convert people to Islam) were at the peak.

Maharashtra was a place, which was comparatively least affected by the rule of Mughals, but it was the place which had witnessed powerful anti-Brahmin movements of the backward castes. It was also the place where the Brahmins felt that their hegemony over the lower castes is slipping and they can no more be relied for their subservient role. It was in this backdrop that the upper caste Brahmins, felt disheartened by the leadership of Gandhi, who introduced the element of '*Sarva Dharma Samabhav*' into the heavily Hinduized (Brahminized) political scenario. They conceived and founded an exclusively upper caste, male, dictatorial (following the principle of *Ek Chalak Anuvartita*: Single supreme leader) organization, RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh :National Volunteer Corps). The major influence on RSS was from the fascist ideology. It was not only at the level of ideology, there were fraternal links between RSS and Fascists and Nazis. Marzia Casolari (Hindutva's Foreign Tie-up in the 1930s-Archival evidence, The Economic and Political Weekly, Jan 22, 2000, p.219) points out, "The existence of direct contacts between the representatives of the (Italian) fascists regime, including Mussolini and Hindu Nationalists demonstrates that Hindu Nationalism had much more than an abstract interest in the ideology and practice of fascism and Mussolini must not be considered as dictated by an occasional curiosity, confined to few individuals; rather it should be considered as culminating result of the attention that Hindu Nationalists, especially in Maharashtra, focused on Italian Dictatorship and its leader. To them, fascism appeared to be an example of conservative revolution."

The prayer and the oath, which the swayamsevaks take, are very revealing of the mindset of this organisation. Their prathana goes like this, "Affectionate motherland, I eternally bow to you/ O land of Hindus, you have reared me in comfort/ O sacred land, the great creator of Good, may this body of mine be dedicated to you/ I again and again bow before You/ O God almighty, we the integral part of Hindu Rashtra salute you in reverence? For Your cause have we girded up our loins/ Give us Blessings for its accomplishment." And they take the pledge (Pratigya), "Before the all powerful God and my ancestors, I most solemnly take this oath, that I become a member of the RSS in order to achieve all round greatness of Bharatvarsha by fostering the growth of my sacred Hindu Religion, Hindu society and Hindu culture. I shall perform the work of the Sangh honestly, disinterestedly, with my heart and soul, and I shall adhere to this goal all my

life. Bharat Mata Ki Jaya.” The commitment to Hindu Rashtra and political Hinduism is the running thread of both these.

RSS has never been in great limelight as most of its agenda is implemented through its front organizations. Also the core activity of indoctrination of young boys and preparing them into a lifetime of devoted cadre-ship is a fairly quiet activity. First time it came into prominence after the murder of Mahatma Gandhi by an RSS *ex-pracharak* (propagator) Nathuram Godse. And later, after the demolition of Babri Masjid by the Sangh Parivar when most people started realizing that its not BJP, VHP, ABVP or Bajrang Dal which are the kernel of Hindutva movement, but it is RSS which through its cadres, controls and engineers different complimentary agendas of Hindutva movement. There is not much material on the RSS itself, as they believe more in direct indoctrination rather than encouraging a culture of debate and dialogue, which require elaborate expositions of ideological and philosophical material. Through the vice like grip, RSS controls around 25000 *shakhas* (branches) and three million members.

Non-cooperation movement was perceived by the founders of the Sangh (RSS) as the one causing the cooling down of enthusiasm for nationalism and also leading to the rise of tension between different communities (Hindu: Muslims), Brahmins and non-Brahmins. The Muslims' joining of non-cooperation movement was viewed as a bad portent. The aftermath of the movement led to multiple violence and rebellions, communal clashes, rise of peasant's revolts etc., all of which was seen by them through the jaundiced view of Hindutva, and seen in bad light. Hindutva communalists started projecting that only Hindus would free Hindustan, that only Hindu strength can lead the country and so Hindu youth had to be organized on the basis of personal character and absolute love of the motherland. This was the backdrop against which Hedgewar along with some other upper caste Brahmins founded the RSS (1925). The hallmark of its beginning was: (a) Emphasis on physical training, with the understanding that the upper castes also have to learn the skills of combat as lower castes are no more reliable in the street combats. (b) A mix of religious symbolism's like saffron flag and a prayer glorifying motherland. (c) An appeal to the interests of Brahmins, *Bania* (traditional trader) and upper castes, which also incidentally were, and more or less are, the overwhelming components of the Sangh (d) Emphasis on indoctrination of young 'boys' with the mythified history and anti-Muslim, anti-secular, rabidly pro-upper caste ideas. The comprehensive program began in *shakhas* (branches). The name Rashtriya (national) was a deliberate prefix to the organization to assert the identity of Hindu with 'National'. Unlike the underground revolutionaries, the RSS emphasized on physical training which can only be of use in street battle and not against the British rulers. The doctrines preached mainly centered around past glories of Hindu gods and kings, the atrocities of Muslim rulers, futility of Gandhian methods and the suffering of Hindus due to lack of organization.

RSS historians project that Mr. Hedgewar gave the first call of independence. In 1929 Lahore Congress adopted *purna swaraj* (total independence) as the goal and called upon everybody to celebrate 26th January as independence-day. In response Sangh sent a circular to all the branches telling them that even Congress has adopted 'our' goal of independence, and that we should celebrate this day (26th Jan. 1930) as Independence

Day. Shakhas all over celebrated the day but with a difference, they hoisted saffron flag, also that was the only year when they celebrated this day. Meanwhile Sangh adopted the dictatorial model of organization, the Chief Sarsanghchalak, vested with supreme powers, was nominated for life and he in turn was to nominate the successor. The present Chief (Mr. K. Sudarshan) is fifth in this chain and so far there had only been one non-Brahmin chief, the fourth one-Mr. Rajendrasingh.

Hedgewar turned down the request of women being members of this organization, instead advising them to form a subordinate body, Rashtrasevika Samiti. The expansion of RSS took place slowly, initially en-cashing on its 'successful role' in the communal riots in Nagpur area and later through the fame of Savarkars' initial image as a revolutionary. Afterwards a gradual infiltration in educational institutions kept it going. Initially some RSS members were part of Indian National Congress (INC) but from 1934 they were barred from this membership. The Sangh kept aloof from all anti-British struggles but was very visible in all activities related to Hindu-Muslim riots and later, rehabilitation of victims of the riots. Its attempts to impress the leaders like Gandhi and Nehru failed, the former characterizing this body 'a communal body with a totalitarian outlook'. Every tension in Hindu-Muslim relations was misused by RSS. Its initial focus of recruitment being from amongst university students, shopkeepers and clerks of middle classes.

Ideological Consolidation

In 1940, M.S. Golwalkar (Guruji) succeeded Hedgewar. He tried to develop the ideas of cultural nationalism (vis-a-vis territorial nationalism) further. He wrote two books outlining the philosophy of RSS, the concepts outlined in these have been upheld and propagated in different ways by the SP in different forms, 'We' or 'Our Nationhood Defined' and 'Bunch of Thoughts'. 'We or our Nationhood' heavily draws from the German Nazi's Fascism, appreciating most of their concepts. It upholds racial pride, brutal methods to deal with the 'other' (in this case non-Hindus), calls for adoption of Hindu culture as national culture, exhorting people to glorify Hindu race and nation, treating others as subordinates to Hindus, curtailing 'others' privileges and citizens rights. He accuses that, Muslims think that they have come here to conquer and rule. He is very critical of anti-British nationalism, blaming it as being merely territorial nationalism, and thereby depriving us of the inspiring content of our real Hindu nationhood and making the freedom struggle as virtually anti-British struggle. As per him equating anti-British struggle with patriotism and nationalism had adverse effects on entire course of independence struggle. Golwalkar is forthright in his praise of Manu and his laws regarding them to be the major contribution of Indian thought to the world. Also in RSS kept aloof from freedom struggle and it was never a target of British wartime repression as it never confronted the state.

He defined the ideology of RSS in a very forthright manner, "German national pride has now become the topic of the day. To keep up the purity of nation and its culture, Germany shocked the world by her purging the country of semitic races-The Jews. National pride at its highest has been manifested here. Germany has also shown how

neigh impossible it is for races and cultures, having differences going to the root, to be assimilated into one united whole, a good lesson for us in Hindustan to learn and profit by. (We or Our nationhood Defined P. 27, Nagpur 1938)

He goes on, “ From this stand point sanctioned by experience of shrew old nations, the non-Hindu people in Hindustan must either adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and revere Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but the glorification of Hindu nation i.e. they must not only give up their attitude of intolerance and ingratitude towards this land and its age old traditions, but must also cultivate the positive attitude of love and devotion instead; in one word, they must cease to be foreigners or may stay in this country wholly subordinated to the Hindu Nation claiming nothing, deserving no privileges far less any preferential treatment, not even citizen's rights.(Same as above)

Guruji carries on, “ As a child of this soil, our well-evolved society has been living here for thousands of years. This society has been known especially, in modern times, as Hindu society. This is a historical fact. For it is the forefathers of Hindu people who have set up standards and traditions...prescribed duties and rights...(and) shed their blood in defense of the sanctity and integrity of the Motherland. That all this, has been done by Hindu people is a fact in which our history of thousands of years bears eloquent testimony. It means that only Hindus have been living here as child of soil. (Bunch of Thoughts, 1966, 123-24, from Basu et al.)

With independence, partition and the accompanying riots Sangh played a major role in fomenting the rumor mongering which added fuel to the fire of violence and later was immensely active in rehabilitation of Hindu refugees coming from Pakistan. After the murder of Mahatma Gandhi, RSS was banned for some time and later the ban was lifted on the condition that RSS operate with a written constitution and take parents consent before minors join RSS. During the ban, Golwalkar wrote from prison to the govt. offering Sangh's services to combat communism in conjunction with the state forces. After lifting of the ban RSS was in shambles and it took some time to put its act together. The Sangh's floating of number of front organizations accompanied the new phase. By this time many a volunteers trained in Sangh politics had started infiltrating in different aspects of social life and arms of the state machinery, army, bureaucracy, education, media and broadcasting etc.

The central training of Sangh recruits revolves around the *shakha* (branch) which is a unit of its activity. It is generally held in a open ground with saffron flag flying, involves children from a very young age, gives them opportunity to play traditional games and later trains them into streets combats. Once a week there is a '*boudhik*' (intellectual), which emphasizes on 'non-dialogic, non-argumentative mode of learning'. The theme, Sangh Parivar doctrine, is hammered down into the young recruits. The core doctrine states that Hindus and Hindus alone constitute Indian nation, since they are the original inhabitants of this great land. Hindus have created this society and its culture. Hinduism is superior to all other faiths since it is tolerant. Unfortunately, this tolerance has been mistaken for weaknesses and aliens, e.g. Muslims and then Christian British have repeatedly conquered the Hindu nation. To quell the threats of these alien cultures,

Hindus need a *Sangthan* (Organization, by implication RSS). The entry of different religions has created a misunderstanding that India is a land of many different religion and cultures. People like Nehru, who preferred bondage to alien system of thought perpetuated the concept of composite cultures into the pseudo-secular constitution. Only a 'truly secular' Hindu Rashtra can do justice to the rights of Hindus and can protect minorities. The daily Shakha is supplemented by annual and periodic training camps, lasting weeks to months and depending on the length and frequency of courses attended, the 'boys' are called graduates, postgraduates or doctorates. The Shakha has a 'Shakha Pramukh' and there is a hierarchy from Shakha Pramukh to Pracharak to the supreme dictator, the *Sarsangh Chalak*.

Multiheaded Hydra

The second front organization to emerge from RSS was the political formation called Jan Sangh (JS), which later merged with the Janata Party and split from it again on the issue of dual membership (that of Janata Party and RSS) to form the Bharatiya Janata Party. Today its strength is formidable with a section of middle class, the upwardly mobile ones' being its supporters. The first associate, subordinate organization, the Rashtrasevika Samiti was formed in 1936. It is modeled on the '*dharmapatni*' (loyal wife) role to the primary RSS. The labor wing of RSS, Bharatiya Majdoor Sangh (BMS) was founded to counter the militant spirit and communist influence amongst workers. Akhil Bhartiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP), is a student body of the RSS. This operates with the idea of relations between teachers, management and students, modeled on family lines. It has been an ideal recruiting ground for RSS while simultaneously it opposes the radicalism in the campuses.

Similarly RSS has encouraged a chain of Shishu Mandirs (Children's Schools). In these Mandirs, heavy dose of Indian Gods and heroes is made to gel with 'Hindu' games etc. There are multiple other fronts like Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram devoted to instilling Hindu *samskars* (traditional rituals and values) amongst Adivasis. Currently its major goal is to 'reconvert' the Adivasis who have adopted "foreign" religions (As per them, Christianity and Islam) back to their 'own' religion i.e. Hinduism. One of their front organizations, which came to forefront with intensification of communal scene, is the Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP). It was set up to consolidate and strengthen 'Hindu' society, to consolidate and spread Hindutva, and to make links among Hindus living in different countries. It has made a base amongst Non Resident Indians and different sects of *sadhus*. RSS wings have been proliferating in big number since 1980s. Especially after coming to power of BJP these wings have got tremendous state patronage. In addition to the support they get from NRI Indians. Also the infiltration of pro-RSS elements in state machinery has gone up after BJPs coming to power at the center. These organizations work in allotted field of activity and are controlled by trained RSS pracharaks. Some of these organizations are, Vidya Bahrati (Education), Bajarang Dal, Durga Vahini (street violence), Rashtriya Sikh Sangat (Sikhs), Swadeshi Jagaran Manch, Deen Dayal Shodh Sansthan (Intellectual propagation), Samajik Samrasta Manch (Against Reservation),

Hindu Jagran Manch (Against Minorities), Sanskar Bharati (Propagation of traditional norms and rituals)

The Indo-China war gave it an opportunity to come to the mainstream and the India-Pakistan 1965 war further enhanced its self-confidence, by loud-mouthing national, patriotic postures. It is interesting to note that main focus of RSS during this phase was anti-communism. Golwalkar was to write to US President Johnson, extending his support to his Vietnam policy (including use of all types of war force). It was a time when US got totally isolated on Vietnam policy, to the extent that there was a growing resistance from within. US, as per Golwalkar, in this case was leading the forces of '*Dharma*' (correct moral duty). After lifting of the ban, RSS spearheaded the issue of cow slaughter ban and 'Indianization of Muslims'. Simultaneously they started *Organiser* (English) and *Panchjanya* (Hindi) and then went on to start a host of newspapers and magazines and *Hindustan Samachar*, the news agency, to 'doctor' the popular perceptions and opinions.

The real respectability of RSS was achieved when they joined the Jaya Prakash Narayan (JP) led movement. Their doggedness paid them and JP did not mind associating with them and later gave them 'good character' certificate. The imposition of emergency again saw RSS being banned and its major leaders were put behind the bars. This shook the RSS leadership and they presented a memorandum to Indira Gandhi, the then Prime-Minister seeking forgiveness. During emergency the JS merged with Janata Party and reaped the rich harvest in electoral politics. In 1980, they left Janata Party on the issue of dual membership and formed the present BJP, they fought the election on the plank of Gandhian socialism! (whatever that means for them) and came cropper with mere two seats in the parliament. The search for an issue, which can exploit mass sentiments, began.

Social Onslaught

The conversion of some dalits to Islam in Meenakshipuram (1981) led to a big hue and cry all over the country. It also gave the SP a big handle to beat the Muslims with. The SP had been rejuvenated by the respectability gained by joining JP movement and had succeeded in spreading its wings to the rich Indians settled abroad, who for keeping their identity as Indians, needed a spiritual injection to survive in the 'alien' land. Lured by the lucre on one hand and obliged to strengthen traditions and conservatism on the other, the NRI's started funding VHP in a big way. Thus the foundation for the big offensive was being laid down all along.

The opportunity to strike was provided to it by immature handling of Shah Bano case by Rajiv Gandhi, who after appeasing the mullahs in upholding their verdict on maintenance of divorced Muslim women, succumbed to the pressure of Hindutva communalists and opened the gates of *Babri masjid* to Hindus. This opening of the gates led to systematic cultivation of mass hysteria around *Ram Janm Bhoomi*, and by using a clever combination of emotional appeal, publicity gimmicks, high pitched hate campaigns against Muslims for political mobilization, another arm of Parivar, VHP now

took over and took the communal frenzy to despicable dumps. In this backdrop Advani's rath yatra, using a traditional religious symbol of a chariot and combining it with political sloganeering around the Ram Mandir began, and he succeeded in taking the Hindutva communalism to the borderline of saffron fascist movement. The culmination of this was the dastardly crime of demolition of the *masjid*, ably assisted by the BJP ruled state machinery and with the covert compliance of the Congress govt. in the center, fiddling and squandering the time away when the barbaric arms of SP and the kar sevaks, after initial rehearsal, razed down the *masjid* in mere 5 ½ hours and cleaned the debris in next few hours. This also gave an opportunity to the 'kar sevak archeologists', to flaunt all the basic norms of professionalism and declare that the debris created by their *kar sevaks*, proves the presence of Ram Mandir at the site where Mir Baqui Masjid was located. Rajiv's Congress lost out the battle for the 'upper caste' vote bank to the blatant puritan and unadulterated upper caste/middle class agenda of BJP, which since then has not looked back and has by now become 'The' vehicle of Hindutva politics, marginalizing the Congress from the upper caste arena. All in all though Hindutva has played a 'hide and seek' expression, through Congress (more on this later), it is the BJP which has been the major and preferred vehicle for Hindutva agenda.

Shiv Sena, which thrived on the 'sons of the soil' theory, watered from the backyard by some elements of Congress, came up strongly in Bombay. Supported by the big capital, it unleashed a 'physical annihilation' of Communist labor leaders in Bombay. After exhausting this agenda, it temporarily campaigned against the '*lungiwallahs*' (South Indians), and *Gujaratis* before latching on to the up-swinging Hindutva movement. In the process it boosted and supplemented the Sangh Parivar, playing the combined role of a mini Maharashtra Bharitya Janata Party and the storm trooper Bajrang Dal (the lumpen 'son' of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, specializing in anti-Minority onslaught/pogroms).

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CHAPTER 2

Freedom Struggle, RSS and Hindu Mahasabha

There are claims that the *Swaymsevaks* (volunteers) of RSS, participated in various struggles for freedom, that Savarkar was a great anti-British revolutionary, that Hindutva combine (Hindu Mahasabha and RSS) is the biggest patriotic force, and that this combine is also the one which has greatly contributed to 'nation building'. There also claims that the present Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpeyee (98-99) participated in the Quit India Movement and was jailed for that. Most of these claims and assertions are taken here for critical examination.

Struggle for Indian Freedom

India's release from the clutches of the British imperialists has been the result of numerous movements and forces. The foremost amongst these, and in a way embodying the struggle for Indian nationalism, has been the Indian National Congress. The person with deep impact and broadly perceived as THE representative this nationalism was Mahatma Gandhi. He, in his own lifetime not only became a legend due to his towering contribution to the freedom struggle but was the one to innovate the methods of struggle against the mightiest of the empires. The struggles unleashed by Gandhi and the Indian National Congress (INC) were prolonged and popular. Congress successfully exploited the constitutional space provided by the British without getting co-opted by it. And it successfully combined the constitutional with non-constitutional methods. It was a broad movement incorporating different shades. This movement was based on a democratic, civil libertarian and secular vision of the Indian State. Over a period of time Congress came to become a broad platform in which on one side of spectrum were socialists and on the other side of spectrum were conservative pro-Hindu elements. Many a mild saffron elements were in the INC all through, and they did 'use' INC as one of the parties expressing Hindu communal agenda, time and over again. But over all it was dominated by the politics of secular nationalism. Its main focus was on industrialization, land reforms and secular democracy. But as even the other shades of conservative elements were part of this broad platform, none of these could be implemented in full. It went on to popularize the ideas of democratic institutions in India, for introduction of representative government, based on elections which in turn were to be based on adult franchise. Later agrarian reforms also became part of its agenda (contrasting with the agenda of Muslim League (ML) or Hindu Mahasabha (HM) which were opposed to such reforms). To top it all and as a logical accompaniment of this, none of these policies were to be based on the religious consideration (again contrasted with ML and HM, whose primary consideration was the community based on religion). The major draw back of this movement was relegating of the class and caste issues to a secondary position, secondary to the anti-imperialist struggle.

The major component of Indian freedom movement the one led by INC was Secular Democracy. This movement despite the partition of India and the accompanying communal holocaust did succeed in enshrining these in constitution of free India. This drew into its fold different sections of society-emerging industrialists, modern businessman, section of emerging middle class and vast mass of peasants. Succeeding the phase of petition politics, Gandhi's arrival on the scene transformed it into a big mass movement and different agitation's were launched, culminating in the independence from the clutches of British rulers. Supplementing this mass movement were other movements, which were eroding the social base of colonial rule. These were, the anti-landlord agitation's, those for the rights of untouchables and other efforts of Dr. Ambedkar, which weakened the material base of colonial rule. On similar ground were the workers movements, led by, to begin with Narayan Meghaji Lokhande, Com. Singaravelu, and later on by, Communist party. These movements also shook the roots of British Empire. The revolutionaries like Bhagat Singh (Hindustan Socialist Republicans Army) Chandrashekhar Azad, Ashfaqulla, Surya Sen and others also contributed to freedom by challenging the hegemony of the British. Role of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose's army in freedom struggle also cannot be under rated. On the other side of the fence was the British might, aided by the Muslim and Hindu Communalists whose main 'role' in history of independent struggle was to provide reliable allies to the British rule. Whose main 'contribution' to the struggle had been to ridicule and oppose it at all stages.

Gandhi adopted unique and novel ways to ensure that vast masses of peasantry and other people became a part of it. It was towards this end that one should see the importance of his methods. He was quick enough to perceive the state of society: deeply in the grip of religion of orthodox variety. To ensure that the people are to come out from this orthodox paralysis he gave a unique interpretation to religion, emphasizing more on the humanistic aspects of religion which could transcend the boundaries of institutional religions, and in the process he got overwhelming response from the people. His dispute with the practitioners of communal politics (Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha & RSS) can be located precisely at this spot. These communalists were themselves mostly 'non religious' (e.g. Jinnah and Savarkar) but were using religion for narrow ends of consolidating their communities against the other. They perceived serious threat from Gandhi's deep-set religious humanism. It is for this reason that both Hindu and Muslim communalists spewed poison on him. They held him responsible for the 'mess', which in a way was the outcome of communal politics itself. It is precisely for this reason that one votary of Hindu communal politics murdered him and in the process won overt and covert kudos from the supporters of the politics of religion based nationalism, Hindu Rashtra.

Role of Hindu Communalists:

As we have seen above, number of Indian nationalists were tainted by communal ideology and different shades of these Hindu communalists of minor variety thrived in INC as well. Hindu communal politics assumed stronger postures from 1920's, especially after the taking over of Congress leadership by Gandhi for whom religious identity was

based on 'love other' in contrast to 'hate other' ideology of communalists and his long term success in ability to bring into its fold different communities. Disgruntled by the gradually deepening shade of secularism in Congress, the votaries of Hindu communal politics went on to strengthen Hindu Mahasabha and later R.S.S.

Savarkar : Hindu Mahasabha

From 1923 Savarkar guided Hindu Mahasabha's politics by his activities and ideological contributions. Earlier in England Savarkar formed 'Free Indian Society' committed to overthrowing British rule in India. He at that time had gone to study law in London and for his anti-British stance he was denied the barrister-ship. That time he rejected the British proposal to give the undertaking not to participate in politics. His group learnt the art of bomb making from a Russian revolutionary in Paris. One member of the group killed a top ranking official in India office (London). He was sentenced to death. For involvement in this and for another charge on him in Indian courts, Savarkar was arrested and was to undergo life imprisonment. He was deported from England. The ship carrying him stopped at Marseilles, where he jumped into the sea and swam to the shore to claim asylum on French soil. He was captured and was transported to Andamans for life imprisonment. The conditions of jail life broke his spirits. From 1920 INC was asking for his unconditional release, but due to reasons best known to him Savarkar preferred to give a written undertaking, which in a way was the *total surrender*. "I hereby acknowledge that I had a fair trial and just sentence. I heartily abhor methods of violence resorted to in days gone by and I feel myself duty bound to uphold law and constitution (British, added) to the best of my powers and am willing to make the 'reform' a success in so far as I may be allowed to do so in future" (from facsimile of Savarkar's letter to British authorities, Frontline, April 7, 1995. Pg. 94). The reforms he is referring to here are the Montague Chelmsford proposals of 1919, which did *not* satisfy the nationalist movement's demands.

In response to this, as a trade off, the British Government released him under the condition that he will stay in the Ratnagiri district in Bombay province and will seek permission of the government to leave the district. Also that he will not engage in any public or private political activities without the consent of the government. The period of conditions lasted till 1937, when the Congress ministry was sworn in. Subsequent to this he assumed the office of the President of Hindu Mahasabha. This aspect of his total surrender is totally hidden by the Hindutva forces, they confer on him the epithet of 'Veer (brave) Savarkar'. Why did British government release him? How is it that after his release the track of his politics totally changed and he came to adorn the mantle of ideologue Hindu Rashtra? How is it that later he never undertook any anti British agitation? How is it that he never joined and supported the major movements of those times like Quit India movement? How is it that instead of being the part of freedom struggle, he chose to help the British in recruiting Indians for their army? One can have ones' own inferences. But he did emerge as the undisputed leader of Hindu Mahasabha. The calculations of British in releasing him stood vindicated by his pro-British and anti-Gandhi stance, and he became the willing accomplice of the divide-and-rule policy of

British colonialists. Dube and Ramkrishanan (Frontline – ibid) have this to say “Is it possible that the British Government was using Savarkar to create an anti Congress outfit, discovering in him Hindu Jinnah, to help them effectively implement their divide-and-rule policy? No body had ridiculed and castigated Mahatma Gandhi, the unquestioned leader of the Congress and the Indian masses, in the 1920s and 1930s, Savarkar did.” His matching of thought with Jinnah was quite revealing, “I have no quarrel with Jinnah’s two Nation theory. We, Hindus are a Nation by ourselves and it is a historical fact that hindus and Muslims are two nations.” (Savarkar, hindutva, p.135-6) His adoration for Hitler and Fascism does give the idea about the tpe of Nationalism which Hindutva is, “There is no reason to suppose that Hitler must be a human monster because he passes off as a Nazi, or Churchill is a demi-god as he calls himself a democrat. Nazism proved undeniably the saviour of Germany under the set of circumstances Germany was placed in.” (Savarkar, Hindu Rashtra Darshan, Pune, 1963, p.418)

In most of the times, post-1937, his politics was the polar opposite of National movement led by Gandhi and ‘no support to Congress move’ was his basic dictum. This can be best exemplified in the 1942 Quit India movement, when Gandhi gave the call for the people to leave the government jobs. Instead Savarkar issued the edict “I issue this definite instruction to all Hindu Sanghathanists in general holding any post or position of vantage in the government services, should stick to them and continue to perform their regular duties”. (Quoted in A G Noorani Frontline, Dec. 1, 1995). Also working committee had passed a resolution on August 31, 1942 asking all Mahasabhaitees to remain at their jobs.

Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh

Coming to RSS, the Sangh Parivar claims to have contributed substantially in the process of ‘nation building’ and freedom struggle. History textbooks introduced in schools wherever BJP governments have come to power delve at great length about the contribution of their ideologues in National movement claiming that Dr. Hedgewar was himself imprisoned during the freedom struggle. Fact of the matter is that Hedgewar himself joined the *Satyagraha* movement only briefly and was imprisoned for a short while, but overall the struggles leading to national independence are non-events for RSS. (Civil-disobedience (1940-1941), Quit India struggle (1942), Azad Hind Fauj, 1945-46 upsurges around INA trials and the Bombay Naval Mutiny.)

According to Lajpat Rai, a columnist, RSS as an organization was never a part of Anti-British movement and even Hedgewar dissociated himself from it from 1931 onwards and never again he was part of any National movement. From then on Dr. Hedgewar’s ideological break up with the national movement was complete and he abstained from the freedom movement. (Letter in Times of India, 18 Jan 94). This non participation was ideologically formulated by MS Golwalkar, as per whom fighting against British is reactionary and he accused the Congress for reducing the national struggle to ‘mere’ anti British movement. Golwalkar writes, “Being anti British was equated with patriotism and nationalism. This reactionary view had disastrous effect upon the entire course of the independence struggle, its leaders and the common people” (Golwalkar, Bunch of Thoughts 1939). Obviously, with this ideological formulation the

Sangh Parivar did not and could not fight against the British. The RSS equated its nationalism with being against Muslims and hence its constant harp against the national leadership for 'appeasement of Muslims'. "The Hindu Mahasabha and Sangh Parivar kept away even from Naval revolt because they (mutineers) used guns against the British and the Sangh Parivar considered fighting against British as "disastrous" and "reactionary". (Lajpat Rai, *ibid*)

Anderson and Damle (Brotherhood in Saffron) point out "Golwalkar believed that the British not be given any excuse to ban the RSS. On April 29, 1943 Golwalkar distributed a circular that 'We discontinue practice included in the governments order on military drill and uniforms to keep our work clearly within bounds of law, as every law abiding institution should'..." (Quoted in A G Noorani, *Frontline*, Dec. 1, 1995). The description of RSS and freedom struggle is necessarily brief, as one cannot describe a non-phenomenon beyond a point. RSS in nutshell was not only consciously absent as far as freedom movement was concerned, but on the contrary it was acting from the opposite angle by opposing various movements for freedom struggle (especially Quit India movement). Also it was active as a communal body, boosting the impact of Muslim communalism and participating in the process of mutual supplementation of Hindu and Muslim communalism.

Much is also made of 'participation' of BJP's *mask*, Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, in Quit India movement. This was the time when young Vajpayee was a recruit of RSS. In an article put on the net (this article also appeared in newspapers) "The Sangh is my soul" for the consumption of NRIs and for soliciting their support for Sangh Parivar, he says, "When I wrote '*Hindu Tan Man Hindu Jeevan*' I was a student of class X. Till 1947 I did the RSS work at *shakha* level I also participated in the *Quit India* movement in 1942 and was jailed. (italics added) I was then studying for my Intermediate examination. I was arrested from my native village Bateshwar in Agra district". This claim of his has been investigated in detail and findings published in *Frontline* Feb 20, 1998. (Manini Chatterjee and V K Ramchandran.) This investigation nails the lie of his participation in Quit India Movement in 1942. The controversy around his role in the Bateshwar incident comes out very well here. He had given a confessional statement in the court which helped in his release from the jail for his being just the onlooker and part of the assembly which went on to damage the government property. As pointed out above he was a dedicated and active member of RSS. He did not participate in the movement according to his own confession, (*Frontline*, Feb. 20, 1998) and for a brief while was part of the crowd which went to break the forest law. He could have been prosecuted under section 149 of IPC *but* for his confession, as the approach of the government was very harsh against the protestors. In his confession he wriggles out of active participation. "I along with my brother followed the crowd, I did not cause any damage. I did not render any assistance in demolishing the government buildings". His statement provided an accurate description of the events on which prosecution could build its case very well. Also it named two leaders of the protestors Kakua alias Liladhar and Mahuan, both of whom were tried in the case. As per Liladhar "Atal Bihari's confessional statement was not part of the evidence in the court that led to his sentence, but it did help shape the prosecutions case at the investigative stage. Prosecution's case largely echoes Atal Bihari's statement." This is so far as the 'patriotic' writer of *Hindu Tan Man Hindu Jeevan's* role in the freedom struggle goes.

Gandhi's murder by Godse: Hindutva's attack on Indian Nationalism :

So far we have seen that the followers of RSS and Hindu Mahasabha remained aloof from freedom struggle and in all, crucial times collaborated with British. The votaries of Hindu Rashtra, were divided into Hindu Mahasabha (HM), which was more interested in the immediate participation in politics, as the flag bearers of Hindu communal politics, and the RSS, which was concentrating on making a network of 'cadres'. Both these denominations of Hindutva politics had the common goal of Hindu Rashtra. Their goals were common, their social base was common, their key texts were common, but their methods differed. Nathuram Godse, killer of Mahatma 'uniquely' symbolized the fusion of both these trends.

After the murder of Mahatma, the official RSS line had been that we have nothing to do with Godse, neither is he a member of RSS. They could get away with this as there was no official record of members of RSS, and they could disown Godse at legal level. In 1930 Godse joined RSS and very soon rose to be the *baudhdhik pracharak* (intellectual propagator), Like both HM & RSS he was ardent supporter of Akhand Bharat, undivided India, comprising of today's Pakistan, Bangladesh, Myanmar. "Having worked for the uplift of the Hindus I felt it necessary to take part in political activities of the country for the protection of just rights of Hindus. I therefore left the Sangh and joined Hindu Mahasabha (Godse, '*Why I Assassinated Mahatma Gandhi*' 1993, Pg. 102).

As an ardent Hindutvawadi he was extremely critical of Gandhi's *ahimsa* (non-violence), the movements led by him and thought very lowly of him. Godse uses very peculiar scales to assess him, "His followers cannot see what is clear even to the blind viz. that Gandhi was a mere pigmy before Shivaji, Rana Pratap and Guru Govind (ibid Pg. 40) and finally about the winning of *swaraj* and freedom I maintain the Mahatma's contribution was negligible." (Ibid. pg. 87) He held Mahatma responsible for appeasing Muslims, and thereby the formation of Pakistan. He joined HM (Hindu Mahasabha), at that time the only political party of Hindutva, and became general secretary of its Pune Branch. In due course he started a newspaper, as founder editor, called *Agrani* or Hindu Rashtra. Jagan Phadnis in His book '*Mahatmyachi Akher*' (Lokvangmay Griha, 1994) argues that Gandhi murder was not on the charges propagated by them (Partition and insistence on paying Pakistan's dues (55 crore) from the treasury), but due to the basic deep differences with the social politics of Gandhi and that of the followers of the Hindu Rashtra. These two reasons are proffered merely as a pretext for the same.

In an interview given to 'The Times Of India' (25 Jan 98) his brother Gopal Godse, who was also an accomplice in the murder elaborates the apparent reasons and Nathuram's RSS membership. "The appeasement policy followed by him and imposed on all Congress governments' encouraged the Muslim separatist tendencies that eventually created Pakistan.... Technically and theoretically he (Nathuram) was a member (of RSS), but he stopped workings for it later. His statement in the court that he had left the RSS was to protect the RSS workers who would be imprisoned following the murder. On the understanding that they (RSS workers) would benefit from his dissociating himself from the RSS, he gladly did it."

This murder was steeped in both the streams of Hindutva politics, RSS and HM. His editing the paper called, 'Hindu Rashtra was quite symbolic. This murder had a broad sanction of the followers of HM and RSS, as they celebrated Mahatma's murder by distributing sweets, "All their (RSS) leaders' speeches were full of communal poison. As a final result, the poisonous atmosphere was created in which such a ghastly tragedy (Gandhi's murder) became possible. RSS men expressed their joy and distributed sweets after Gandhi's death." Excerpts from Sardar Patel's letters to M S Golwalkar and S P Mookerjee. (*Outlook*, April 27, 1998). In a way Godse was no freak. The way Hindu communalists were spewing poison against Gandhi, it was logical outcome of their politics. And Godse had the 'benefit' of the teachings of both RSS as well as HM to be the *ideal* person to execute the job. They used the word *wadh* for this murder, which stands for killing a demon who is harming the society. In a way Gandhi murder was the first major offensive of the Hindutva politics on Indian Nationalism, in a way it was to herald the onset of bigger strides which Hindutva politics was to assume in times to come.

Though officially SP dissociates from Gandhi's murder by Godse, in private many a members not only uphold the dastardly act, but also have even succeeded in undermining the importance of Mahatma and 'sympathize' with Godse. This complex trick can be achieved only by a multi-headed organization, capable of talking with different tongues at the same time.

Chapter 3

Hindutva Movement

Formation of Hinduism as a Religion

Today's social common sense believes Hinduism to be the religion of all the people in India except those who are specifically Muslims, or Christians. It will be interesting to note that contrary to the popular belief the terms Hindu and Hinduism originated in late eighteenth century, and were first used by British administrators. They believed that “the essence of India existed in a number of key Hindu classical scriptures such as Vedas, the codes of Manu and the *shastras* that often prescribe hierarchical ideas”...a conclusion “supported and elaborated by Brahmins”.(1) British not only absorbed this understanding, but also they put an official seal on it “by applying a legal system based on Brahminic norms to all non-Muslim castes and outcastes, and created an entirely new Brahmin legitimacy. They further validated Brahmin authority by employing, almost exclusively, Brahmins as their clerks and assistants”.(2) This fabrication through repetition of “India as unitary Hindu society has obscured the reality of a segmented society, with Brahmins and other upper castes exercising a monopoly of power, fabricated Hinduism is found everywhere”.(3)

This historical process whereby Brahminism gained ascendancy has variously been formulated by different sociologists. To give an example Arun Bose (4) writes, “The ideological and a fortiori social, political and economic development of Indian society was arrested at a primitive nomadic stage by the despotic power of ruthless caste of Brahmin priests who fabricated more successfully than any other priestly caste ever known, myths and legends to deceive, oppress and exploit the remaining castes, particularly the Sudra caste. By draconian punishments, reinforced by legends about creation and the cycle of rebirths through which strict conformity with caste taboos was rewarded and infringements penalized, they were able to enforce total and resigned submission to their omnipotent power.”

Initially the term Hindu began with regional tones. The term was coined by Arabs and others, who pronounced 'S' as 'H', and to denote the people living on this side of Sindhu (Indus) they called them Hindu. It is only much later that this term was bestowed with a religious meaning. Nehru (5) pointed out that “Hinduism as a faith is vague, amorphous, many sided, all things to all men. It is hardly possible to define it, or indeed to say definitely whether it is a religion or not, in the usual sense of the word, in its present form, and even in the past, it embraces many beliefs and practices, from the highest to the lowest, often opposed to or contradicting each other.”

Formulating it more sharply to bring to focus the caste factor, Hinnells and Sharp (6) concede that “A Hindu is a Hindu not because he accepts doctrines and philosophies but because he is a member of “caste”, thus implying that Hinduism is a social order and not a religion. Romila Thapar (7) in her analysis posits that, “The new Hinduism which is being currently propagated by the Sanghs, Parishads and Samajs is an attempt to

restructure the indigenous religions as a monolithic uniform religion, rather paralleling some of the features of Semitic religions. This seems to be a fundamental departure from the essentials of what may be called the indigenous 'Hindu' religions. Its form is not only in many ways alien to the earlier culture of India but equally disturbing is the uniformity which it seeks to impose on the variety of "Hindu' religions".

Hindu sects are multiple and diverse with many founders, and these sects have survived over a period of centuries. At times scholars used the word for a group of different indigenous religions, which could vary in their belief system from animism to atheism, which are looked at with suspicion by today's votaries of Hinduism. Thapar goes on to say (7), "Hinduism as defined in contemporary parlance is a collation of beliefs, rites and practices consciously selected from those of the past, interpreted in contemporary idiom in last couple of centuries and the selection conditioned by historical circumstances. In a strict sense, a reference to 'Hinduism' would require a more precise definition of the particular variety referred to Brahminism, Brahmo-Samaj, Arya Samaj, Shaiva Siddhanta, Bhakti, Tantricism or whatever."

The major religious categories, which existed earlier, were Brahminism and Shramanism. Shramans were those who were often in opposition to Brahminism, these are the groups which had belief structures away from Vedas and Dharmashastras. Their teachings transcended castes and communities, and in contrast to Brahminism, which categorized religious practice by caste, Shramanic religions opposed this in order to universalize their religious teachings. Bhakti tradition emphasized selfless action projected as the need to act in accordance with one's moral duties. This shift of emphasis, away from Brahminical rites and sacrificial rituals provided the root, in later time, for a number of cults like *Shaiva*, *Vaishnava* and many others. It also provided the rough outlines of much that is viewed as traditional 'Hinduism'. Lot of variations occurred in this tradition. Much later Kabir and Nanak brought in Sufi ideas in their teachings. Shakta sect and Tantric rituals also gained wide popularity. These are now played down as being anathema to the current version of Hinduism, i.e. Brahminical Hinduism.

The religious practices of untouchables and Adivasis have a lot of rituals, which involve offerings, and libations of meat and alcohol. Also these groups could not afford the costly donations required for Brahminical *yagnas*. Gradually *dharma* (religious duty) became central to religion, regarded as sacred, which had to be performed in accordance with one's *varna*, *jati* and sect and which differed according to each of these. Thapar(7) goes on to add, "Hindu' missionary organization, taking their cue from Christian missionaries are active among the adivasis, untouchables and economically backward communities, converting them to 'Hinduism' as defined by upper caste movements of the last two centuries... That this 'conversion' does little or nothing to change their status as adivasis, untouchables and so on and that they continue to be looked down upon by upper caste 'Hindus' is of course of little consequence". Jainism and Buddhism were major amongst Shramanic tradition. These religions were persecuted in many parts of the country. The pre-modern Hinduism was not a monolithic religion, as being projected by the Sangh Parivar, but was a juxtaposition of multiple religious sects.

Thapar calls the Hinduism, currently being propagated by Sangh Parivar as 'Syndicated Hinduism'. This projection is made by the social base of the Sangh Parivar, a powerful urban middle class with a reach to rural rich who find it useful to bring into politics, a

uniform, monolithic Hinduism created to serve its new requirement. The Hinduism which more or less has won the social space and draws mainly from Brahminical texts, and also draws from *Dharmashastras*. The attempt of this exercise is to present a modern reformed religion. The net result is a repackaged Brahminism. The Hindu communities settled abroad, look for a parallel to Christianity, as their religion. This is to overcome the sense of inferiority and cultural insecurity, which they experience in their life. Thapar goes on to say, “Syndicated Hinduism claims to be re-establishing the Hinduism of pre-modern times; in fact it is only establishing itself and in the process distorting the historical and cultural dimensions of indigenous religions and divesting them of the nuances and variety which was a major source of their enrichment.”

To put the understanding in a linear way: “The Hindu religion as it is described today is said to have its roots in the Vedas. In any case, whatever we call the religion of these nomadic clans, it was not the religion that is today known as Hinduism. This (Hinduism in its current version) began to be formulated only in the period of Maghadha-Mauryan State, Buddhism and Jainism (as well as the materialist Charvak tradition) were equally old-Hinduism as we know it, was in other words, only one of the many consolidations within a diverse sub-continental cultural tradition, and attained social and political hegemony only during the sixth to tenth century A.D., often after violent confrontations with Buddhism and Jainism”. (8)

As per Gail Omvedt (8) this Brahminic Hinduism adopted and identified with the authority of the Vedas and Brahmins. Material base of this system was the caste structure of the society. Its co-optive power was qualified to the extent that dissidents had to accept their place in the caste hierarchy. The masses of people did not have the identity of ‘Hindu’. Multiple local gods and traditions existed side by side forming the base of popular culture. Later, only during colonial period this identity of ‘Hindu’ was constructed for all the inhabitants of this land except those who were followers of Islam or Christianity. This construction was thrown up by English scholarship and by Indian elite. Gail posits that, “In the nineteenth century, people like Lokmanya Tilak adopted the ‘Aryan theory of Race’, claimed a white racial stock for upper caste Indians and accepted Vedas as their core literature. Tilak was also the first to try and unite a large section of the masses around Brahminical leadership with celebration of Ganesh festival.” One gets a clear idea that Sangh Parivar has succeeded in perpetuating a perception amongst Hindus to forge a communal solidarity through elective projections of the past, and this does involve a deliberate reformulation of history. Emergence of nation-state does bring in a homogenization of religion. In case of India this evolution of “national religion and Hinduism has mainly been defined in opposition to the Muslim ‘other’”.

Hindutva: Ideological Foundations

The construction of Hindutva is to be seen in the backdrop of emergence of Hinduism as a homogenous religion. The concept of Brahminical Hinduism, projected as Hinduism was at the root of multiple religious revivalist movements. Its political translation began mainly with Bal Gangadhar Tilak, who initiated the Ganapati Festival to wean away the popular participation of lower castes people in Muharram festival. Some sociologists(9) have called such ideological maneuvers as “manipulative reinterpretation of cultural

material” and “invention of tradition”. Later Tilak went on to organize a festival in honour of Shivaji, who broke the Moghul hold on western India and opened the way for rampage of Maratha armies through much of India. A strong anti-Muslim slant was brought into the function.

Anti-Muslim sentiments were consistently used to project a political methodology of consolidating the Hindus. Starting from Bankimchandra Chatterjee, various other Hindu national ideologues had whipped the fear psychosis with Muslims as the ones' threatening the survival of Hindus. All these fabrications were manufactured and propagated by the ascendant, nascent, amorphous Hindu nationalist forces. The combination of 'Syndicated Hinduism' with nationalism was brewed by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar who can be called the first exponent of the doctrine of Hindutva. The mix of Brahminical Hinduism with nationalism reflecting the interests of upper castes and part of upper class was defined and later refined on the exclusionist principles, which are so basic to the Brahminism. Savarkar's initial anti-British struggles were very impressive. After assuming the role of the proponent of Hindutva his major energies were channelized in strengthening the politics of hate, formation of communal Hindu Mahasabha and helping RSS from distance.

Savarkar's work 'Hindutva: Who is Hindu' (1923) became and remains the basic text defining this political concept. With the simultaneous rise of Muslim communalism: Muslim nationalism, in due course most of the Hindu consolidations took place by showing the fear of Muslims. This nationalism consolidated itself on the ground of the threatening other, but this threatening other was not the British imperialist colonizers whose rule the country was suffering but was the 'Muslim'. As an aside we should note here that Savarkar's anti-British struggles and anti-British activities totally ceased after his release by the British, and from then on all his guns were to be targeted against the Muslims, presented in most threatening way by him. Savarkar argued (later on this became the ideological base of most of the Hindutva organizations) “the Aryans who settled in India at the dawn of history already formed a nation, now embodied in the Hindus.... Hindus are bound together not only by the tie of the love they bear to a common fatherland and by the common blood that courses through their veins and keeps our hearts throbbing and our affection warm but also by the tie of the common homage we pay to our great civilization, our Hindu culture.”(10) Thus Hindutva according to him rests on three pillars: geographical unity, racial features and common culture.” He further went on to elaborate the criterion for who is Hindu? According to him all those who regard this land as their fatherland and holy-land are the only ones who are Hindu and thereby the people to whom this land belongs. This led to the automatic interpretation that the Christians and the Muslims, whose holy places are in Jerusalem and Mecca are not on par with the 'Hindus' who own this country. Initiating the theorizing of the 'doubting of patriotism of Muslim's'.

Savarkar posits, “but besides culture the tie of common holy-land has at times proved stronger than the claims of a motherland. Look at Mohammedans: Mecca to them is a sterner reality than Delhi or Agra.” This development of the concept of Hindutva comes in succession on the construction of Brahminism as Hinduism and this Brahminical Hinduism then forming the base for Hindutva politics. Savarkar began to articulate the ideology of Hindu elite (zamindars, Brahmins, kings) by integrating Brahminical

Hinduism with nationalism, calling it Hindutva which further showed the way for building the Hindu Rashtra. His key sentence was 'Hinduise all politics and militarise all Hindudom'.

Savarkar's politics was rival to Gandhian politics. Gandhi - the representative of Indian Nationalism was branded as conciliator and appeaser of Muslims. Savarkar propounded that struggle for supremacy would begin after British left and that the Christians and Muslims were the real enemies who could be defeated only by "Hindutva". His key sentence was "Hinduise all politics and militarise Hindudom". He maintained that this land belonged to Hindus and so by implication Muslims with Holy Land in Mecca and Christians with Holy land in Jerusalem cannot have equal status to 'Hindus'. This concept was later to be made more explicit by Golwalkar, who despite adoring Hitler, was 'generous' and 'kind' enough to these 'aliens' by granting them the status of second class citizens. With this began the concept of Hindu Raj - the precursor of the present Sangh Parivar goal - the Hindu Rashtra. The final crystallization of Hindutva occurred with foundation of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) which became the Father organization for plethora of organizations, which were to take birth after a period of consolidation of the core *swayamsevak*s (volunteers).

Hindutva: Growth

The early simmerings of Hindutva can be seen in the opposition to the secular Congress movement of 19th century. The Jamindar (landlord) moneylenders, Brahmin and Banias spearheaded the reaction to secular politics. This support base constantly stood by the Hindutva politics all through. Later some industrialists did successfully ride on two boats of supporting secular Gandhian movement and also supporting Hindutva movement. But mostly the modern industrialists stood by the secular movement led by Gandhi. The Rajas (Hindu kings of Princely States) also by and large stood by the politics of RSS. The march of industrialization process changed the social composition and brought in newer layers into society. Though BJP and its predecessor the Jan Sangh began with small electoral support, this support was fairly consistent. It was the urban middle classes, sections of upper castes. Let us have a brief look at the changes in social composition, which have occurred during last 50 years of the republic. The proportion of urban population has gone up by 20-25 per cent. They also constitute the ones' having derived maximum benefit of modern education and the facilities thrown up by the industrialization process. They do have a sort of dominant presence in the society. The cultural, social and political aspirations of this Sector is the ground, on which has risen the edifice of Sangh Parivar.

Hinduism	Hindutva
(1) A collation of multiple traditions traditions: Brahminism- Shramanism-	(1) Politics of Hindu elite, Drawing from Brahminical Hinduism.

Charvak, Tantra, Kabir, Tukaram.	
(2) Brahminism: Caste system, the dominant ethos	(2) Brew of Brahminical Hinduism and Nationalism
(3) Brahminism projected as Hinduism initially in 6-10 century, then in early 19 th century, Brahminical Hinduism projected to be Synonymous with Hinduism.	(3) Aims at Hindu Rashtra based on Brahminical Hinduism
(4) Shramanic traditions: Constant rebellion: attempt to escape the clutches of Brahminism: conversion to Buddhism (early times And now after the lead given by Ambedkar). Vivekananda said: Why amongst the poor are so many Mohammedans..., not due to Escape the tyranny of the Zamindar and the priests.	(4) Led initially by Brahmins: Banias: even now dominant Leadership from upper castes.
(5) 'Dharma' is a mix of Humanism and caste based religious duties.	(5) Political expression through Sangh Parivar now, earlier

	Hindu Mahasabha and RSS.
(6) Semitisation process being spear- headed by SP Holy deity: Ram ,Holy Book: Gita, clergy: Shankaracharyas etc.	(6) A mix of fundamentalism and Fascism (see table)
(7)Its proponents claim it to be tolerant and catholic. cf: earlier it's attitude to shudras cf: Now it's attitude to Muslims	(7) VHP brings in the stink of fundamentalism in the essentially fascist politics of RSS, BJP and Bajarangdal.

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Chapter 4

Social Base of Sangh Parivar

In early simmering of its emergence this movement (Hindutva) to begin with, was spearheaded mostly by Brahmins. Its support came from the landed aristocracy and some layers of middle classes. Most emerging sections like industrialists and newer business groups along with poor peasants identified with the Gandhian Nationalism, while the subalterns identified more with the movement of Ambedkar or the Communist Party.

Despite the training of cadres, dedicated, committed, ascetic on so on, the reach of religious nationalism was confined to Brahmin/Bania/Rich peasant and petty bourgeoisie in the Hindi belt in Northern India. And the failure of its campaigns on cow slaughter ban, Indianize the Muslims, was well indicative of that. Even the communal riots, which began from 60s, began with a slow pace and picked up more and more dangerous proportions with passage of time. The ideological propagation of Hindutva and the rise of its support base went hand in hand, and by late seventies and early eighties, the anti-Muslim riots began to assume horrendous proportions.

The BJP and its predecessor and Jan Sangh began with small electoral support. It was the urban middle classes, sections of upper castes. Let us have a brief look at the changes in social composition, which have occurred during last 50 years of the republic. The proportion of urban population has gone up by 20-25 per cent. They also constitute the ones' having derived maximum benefit of modern education and the facilities thrown up by the industrialization process. They do have a sort of dominant presence in the society. The cultural, social and political aspirations of this sector are the ground, on which has risen the edifice of Sangh Parivar.

Decades of 70s & 80s – Socio Economic Changes :

The model of development, which was adopted after independence was a mix of 'Public Sector' and 'Private Sector'. Public Sector was started mainly to provide the infra-structural facilities and production, which was crucially needed for overall industrial growth. This development model resulted in great amount of increase in the privileged middle class.

This section was in the top and middle levels of management of Public Sector and partly in Private Sector. Heavy emphasis in technological education – medical education resulted in growth of the professional sections. The elite of rural India; the rich peasants also benefited from green revolution. The ascendant labor movement got a bit of setback after the 1983 Mumbai textile strike, and this also signaled the change in labour policies of the management's. At this juncture on the one hand there was a greater and greater interaction of Indian economy with the world economy and on the other hand management's started the newer policies due to which there was the conscious policy to marginalise the work force. The trend began to subcontract and decentralise the production process with the result that major industrial centers started witnessing a massive closure of big factories. The unemployment started soaring to great heights. The

qualitative transformation of economy into 'globalised economy' was also marked by dis-investment in Public Sector. Opening up of the economy to multinationals in a big way, introduction of GATT, WTO and the other economic policies gave a plunge in the worse direction for the weaker sections of society.

In the overall canvas of this economic change there were multiple trends: one the emergence of affluent middle class, comprising of small industrialists who are subcontractors to big companies, rich peasants with urban connections, bureaucrats and professionals. Secondly this 'globalisation' was accompanied by job losses and worsening of wages of those employed in small factories and rise in the unemployment. This picture was marked by massive turmoil for the changes one of the expressions of which brought in the implementation of Mandal Commission recommendations. The threat of turmoil and change of status quo, was the principle, which precipitated the coming together of affluent middle classes under the banner of communal politics of BJP and its affiliates. Lest we forget a small section of industrialists at this juncture did feel threatened by the globalising tendencies of capital, fearing its own self getting wiped away in the face of the threat of multinationals. This section of industrialists is the one, which probably is the worst in their labor relations and is the strongest proponent of swadeshi. In this complex scenario the growth of capital is in the form of qualitative change in the global nature of capital. The middle sections which are the social base of Sangh Parivar have a complex strategy vis a vis global capital; accept the inevitable and want to preserve sectional interests by talking about swadeshi.

At this critical time the diverse forces in society are a) Sections of Liberal Capitalists who have 'successfully' adjusted to the new economic chessboard in their global relations and who have adopted the new managerial techniques to keep the workers unity and struggle under check, who have 'ensured' the straight jacketing of workers aspirations, b) Sections of affluent middle class, whose some components, we have delineated above, who know the inevitability of globalisation, are going for it but simultaneously have sections amongst them who do want the protective measures for their survival, and they are the one's who join the chorus of swadeshi. In a way the newer global equations as reflected in India are operating full steam to create the present situation. While amongst these groups a) is for globalisation by choice and b) is for the same by default with some reservations thrown in here and there amongst these a) may 'tolerate' liberal and democratic space while b) which is the strongest proponent of Hindutva, Hindu Rashtra, is strongly opposed to the liberal space and democratic values. This section has deeper existential anxieties because of some social vulnerabilities, that make it vehement opponent of democratic and liberal norms. And that makes it the solid base of Sangh Parivar, which is wedded to the pre-modern hierarchical notions, is wedded to the concept of Hindu Rashtra and there by opposed to any social change which has the potential to threaten the status quo.

The assertion of the sections supporting Sangh Parivar, precisely got consolidated in the post-Mandal phase in its wake and in opposition to the hopes aroused by the victims of newer economic-globalised scenario and the changed management strategies – and the state employment policies. The backdrop of the unprecedented rise in the power of Sangh Parivar has to be seen in the backdrop of newer economic dynamics, change in management strategies on one hand; and on the other two ways to deal with the impact of these changes on working masses. The first and at the moment the one of liberal capital

and affluent middle class have brought forward both these options. There is some overlap in these, but the one offered by affluent middle classes through the vehicle of SP is capable of abolishing the democratic space for a long long time to come.

SP- Social Base

To understand the social base of the Sangh Parivar we will like to go into the regrouping of social groups in Gujarat. Nandy et al¹ have described this process. Along with urbanization there has been a parallel process in which the rich peasants of Gujarat have achieved an enhanced social status. These *Patidar's* caste (cash crop farmers), has been upgraded by a process of religious maneuvering. The polarization of middle class (Brahmin, Bania) and Patidar occurred around 1980, around the issue of reservations for the lower castes. In 1980, Gujarat witnessed an extreme form of caste violence directed against the lower castes. This anti- reservation agitation played a key role in consolidating the base of upper castes and upwardly mobile middle classes. Sangh Parivar directly or indirectly stood by to support these upper caste onslaughts.

By using clever strategies Sangh Parivar was also able to give an upwardly mobile channel to a section of Dalits, aspiring for a better place within Hindu society. In Gujarat one can clearly see the social functionality of creating the 'other' (Muslim). Here earlier the ultimate object of hate was the Dalit, by a clever maneuver, the Muslim is substituted for that, the Dalit is unleashed upon the 'other', an atmosphere of terror is created, which helps to maintain a 'status quo' of social hierarchy. Various Yatras and campaigns of VHP gave cohesion to this social base.

Basu, Datta, Sarkar, Sarkar and Sen in *Khaki Shorts: Saffron Flags* have tried to trace the roots of Sangh Parivar movement. They correlate it with the rise of new religiosity around worship of 'Jai Mata Di', and 'Jai Santoshi Ma', and around functions like 'Jagrata' and pilgrimages like 'Vaishno Devi'. All these, which emerged in northern states in late 60's, and early 70 got co-opted and colored by the VHP campaigns. Basu et. al. identify a significant social base of Sangh Parivar in new urban middle class, spreading in small towns as well, which has come up due to the rapid growth of relatively small enterprises and the accompanying trade boom. "These small scale units flourish without the concomitant growth of organized working class, since individual work-places are far too small to consolidate the labor force and enable effective unionization". This type of industrial development, based on screwdriver technology has mushroomed all through in 70's and 80's. This newer middle class tends to be fragmented into smaller more individual units. "They are marked by intense internal competition and steady pressure of new opportunity structures, ever expanding horizons for upward mobility and a compulsive consumerism that keeps transcending its own limits. The very pressure of growth is disturbingly destabilizing; the brave new world of global opportunities creates anomie and existential uncertainties" The Green Revolution in parts of UP has increased rural purchasing power, of rich peasants feeding into the urban enterprises, consumerism and trade.

Characterisation of the Movement

Most of the social scientists have characterized this movement as a communal one. The broad perception amongst the segment of liberal, progressive intellectuals is that this is a communal movement, spearheaded by the Sangh Parivar, to strengthen the social and political power of Hindu elite. Its most commonly perceived activity is to train the cadres in its core doctrine to float the different organizations (BJP, VHP, Bajrang Dal, Swadeshi Jagran Manch, Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram, etc.) which overtly spread the communal venom against minorities in general and Muslims in particular. By now the success of Sangh Parivar in communalizing the social space, infiltrating police, army and bureaucracy is well recognized. And it is broadly perceived as a communal movement.

Religious Nationalism

'Religious nationalism' is a characterization by many a sociologists who pick up the self declared assertions of those movements and give them a decent looking veneer. (2) In Juergansmeyers' understanding the religious nationalists see the failure of democracy and socialism, both western models, leading them to conclude that secular nationalism has failed. And so they view religion as a hopeful alternative, which can provide a basis for criticism and change. As per him the differences amongst various religious leaders are immense, but they all share one thing in common-seeing Western secular nationalism as their enemy and their hope to revive religion in public sphere. Juergansmeyer hesitates to call these movements fundamentalist as this word tends to suggest "an intolerant, self-righteous, and narrowly dogmatic religious literalism." The term is less descriptive and more accusatory. Also it is an imprecise term for making comparisons across cultures. The better term for this phenomenon is offered by Bruce Lawrence (3), which suggests a global revolt against secular ideology that often accompanies modern society. The 'modern' according to this are those, who are 'modern' while opposing the values of modernism. Also fundamentalism does not carry any political meaning and conveys the idea of being solely motivated by religious beliefs rather than broad concerns about the nature of society and the world. The term religious nationalist conveys the main meaning of religious and political interests and also holds that there is no clear distinction between religion and politics, as this distinction is a mask of Western thinking.

Fundamentalism

But this characterization is not able to totally understand different broad and deep factors of this offensive. Also it is not able to explain the intensity and sustained nature of this movement. To fill this gap some social scientists and activists like Ram Bapat, characterize this as being a fundamentalist movement, akin to the one in countries like Iran (4). As per this formulation Indian fundamentalism, like the global one which exists everywhere in post-industrial societies, has been generated by the system of advanced

capitalism or late capitalism. In third world countries it is in a manifest form, in contrast to the latent form in advanced countries. Bapat feels that due to lack of power of public opinion of the progressive world at the turn of century, the first world is making every attempt to put fundamentalism on top of the agenda for the world politics and even for military purposes. After the decades of 60s and 70s, which constituted the years of triumph of socialism and also of emancipatory nationalism, the next two decades marked the beginning of revivalism and fundamentalism. Originally, fundamentalism developed in America where capitalism faced a lot of turmoil from 1870 to 1930. Similarly other countries, when faced with severe economic crisis came up with the fundamentalist response from some sectors of society. In America this fundamentalist response came in the form of a movement which asserted the revivalist trend to identify 'essential absolute' to enable American citizens to take on the forces of darkness. Bapat makes a pertinent point that since 1818, Maharashtra, amongst all the Indian states has served as a kind of hot house for sustaining all kinds of orthodoxy, revivalism, fundamentalism and communalism, particularly of Hindutva variety.

To begin with fundamentalist Hindutva is not the Hinduism practiced by millions of people. It (the Hindutva) is an imaginary Hinduism which is essentially extra-historical, extra-religious and is a political credo for those who want to make much of the ideology for their political ends. This fundamentalism is neither based on traditional modes of thought nor traditions as they existed. They win over people by propagation of 'manufactured traditions'. They adopt the gains of modernity, science, technology, weaponry and industrial production. It wants a modern apparatus of life without the necessary relations between human beings, which would give them space to struggle for their rights. In nutshell, it wants to achieve a certain modern culture i.e. the modern production process sans the accompanying space for improvement of human relationships. It is a post feudal phenomenon aimed at inventing a new identity for the ruling classes. It uses the language of religious discourse. Fundamentalism is possible only in Semitic religions. The Semitisation process of Hinduism is going on from last many decades. This Semitic Hinduism which in fact is the Brahminical Hinduism has discovered The Book in 'Gita and 'Vedas'; the holy deity in 'Ram' from amongst hundreds of contenders for this status, and Acharyas and Mahants as the clergy. The attempt of this fundamentalist movement is to impose their (elite's) interests and programs of the present, in the language of the past.

Table : Comparing Hindutva and Fundamentalism

Hindutva	Fundamentalism
Targeting against liberal ethos of the	Same

Society	
Imposition of retrograde social values Selectively culled out from religious Texts.	Same
Swadeshi is the "economic policy"	Anti imperialist noises
Built around (Gita, Vedas), Ram and Acharyas	Based on Semitic religion-Holy book, Holy daily and clergy
Harping on traditional orthodox beliefs	Same
Projection of women as ideal mothers	Women under patriarchal control of father, husband and son
Claim that Vedas are created by Brahma, the God	Claim that 'Our' creed based on divine law: holy book coming from God himself
Golden past of religious rule is Shown to be the ideal goal	Same
Demand homogeneity of Hindu culture	Abhor pluralism
Political onslaught to impose Interests of elite, middle class, upper	Creates hysteria (against Shah of Iran, in Iran, against

Caste on whole society	women in Saudi Arabia)
Creates hysteria against internal Enemy, the Muslim	Hysteria against Women, Imperialism, neighboring country
Great importance to women's dress Code	Same
Built around emotive appeal of religion	Same

Fascism

Bapat feels that Sangh Parivar is not Fascist as, Fascism does not lean upon religion to give it the cohesive aggressive slant. In contrast Aijaz Ahmed, K.N Pannikar, Sumit Sarkar and many other sociologists characterise the Sangh Parivar as being Fascist. As per Sarkar (5) the Sangh Parivar movement may not look exactly parallel to the German Fascism, but a closer look at the pattern of affinities and differences helps to highlight the crucial features, notably as the implications of the offensive of Sangh Parivar go far beyond the events of 92-93. The drive for Hindu Rashtra has put into jeopardy the entire secular and democratic foundations of our Republic. It is only Hindu communalism, and not the Muslim communalism, which has the potential of imposing Fascism in India. Sarkar points out that Fascism was introduced in Italy and Germany through a combination of carefully orchestrated street violence (with a mass support) and deep infiltration into the police, bureaucracy and the army, with the connivance of 'centrist' political leaders. Hitler, for example, had repeatedly asserted his party's respect for legality even after coming to power, but meanwhile his colleague Goering, Nazified the German police and organized street encounters in which more than 50 anti-Nazis were murdered. This set the scene for Reichstag fire; after which first the Communists and then all opposition political parties and trade unions were quickly destroyed. The methodology adopted in destruction of mosque (Babri Masjid) is so much reminiscent of the same method. The mosque is demolished in 5 1/2 hours in total violation of Supreme Court order and repeated assurances given by leading opposition party, and the Central Government does not even lift a finger till the mosque is totally razed to the ground. Countrywide riots follow, police partiality is painfully obvious, the land grabbing vandals illegally build a temporary 'temple', and this structure is protected, while the political

force behind this, the BJP alternates between occasional apology and more frequent aggressive justification. And their brother organization, the VHP adds Delhi's Jumma Masjid in the list of Hindu monuments and denounces the Indian Constitution as being anti-Hindu. The beating up of journalists on December 6th, is no surprise as the fascist forces, who usually carefully cultivate the press, like to combine persuasion with an occasional big stick.

Unlike the Fascism in Italy and Germany which came into power within a decade or less of its emergence as a political movement, Hindutva had a long gestation period, which has given added strength and stability to the movement and it has been a long enough time for their ideas to become part of the social common sense. Sarkar correctly points out that the real base of Sangh Parivar remains the predominantly upper caste trader professional petit bourgeoisie of cities and small town mainly in Hindi heartland, developing connections perhaps with upwardly mobile landholding groups in countryside. He quotes Daniel Gurien's definition of Fascism as "not only an instrument at the service of big business, but at the same time a mystical upheaval of the petite bourgeoisie". Specific linkages of big business with Fascism remain controversial. By a sustained propaganda work Sangh Parivar has succeeded in creating a communalized common sense in which Muslim has become a near equivalent of the Jew - or the Black in contemporary white racism. As per Sangh Parivar the Muslims in India are unduly privileged - a charge much more absurd than it was in Germany - where Jews had been fairly prominent and well to do. In India, Muslims are grossly underrepresented in business, bureaucracy, army, police, private enterprise etc. Here the alleged privileges are the appeasement of Muslims by pseudo-secularists.

Like Hitler in Germany the Sangh Parivar arrogates to itself to be THE representative of Hindus, who are in majority, and thereby its democratic credentials are above board. Similarly, since Sangh Parivar is 'The' representative of Hindus, any body deviating from its line is anti-Hindu, anti-National at worst and pseudo-secular at best. Unlike Jews who had to face the gas chambers, Hindutva line is 'kind and generous' and offers a second class citizenship to the Muslims. The constant anti-Muslim violence, euphemistically called 'communal' riots have succeeded in ghettoizing large chunks of the Muslim population. Also unlike Nazis, Sangh Parivar grounds the identity on religion.

Aijaz Ahmed (6) calls it Hindutva Fascism and points out that it differs from the Italian and German ones' on the ground that it speaks relatively rarely of economic instance. It fashions its ideological discourse along the categories of 'nation' and 'community' seeking to obtain the identity between these two categories, nations and community - through methodical use of violence as a political instrumentality. Hindutva has nationalized the violence as a means for capturing state power. As per Ahmed the whole series of mass spectacles, mobilizations and blood-baths that began with *rath yatra* and culminated in the demolition of the masjid on one hand, and terrorization of Bombay on the other are an evidence of the same. It has introduced into Indian politics a qualitatively different dynamics, pushing the urban culture of diverse cities and regions across the country in a distinctly fascist direction, and giving new phase of Indian communalism a hysterical form, which is similar to that of European anti-Semitism. The true object of Sangh Parivar's desire is not just submission of the Muslims but of state power as a whole, and remaking of India in its own image. This, it is achieving by imposing a

homogenization on the lines of Brahminical ethos on the society. Conceived and executed as at present, the Sangh Parivar's fascist project has some limitation since it does not 'pose' to be radical enough to win over the masses and India is too diverse a country to buy Sangh Parivar's homogenization at a quick pace.

The Hindu Right (S P) has been equated with Nazi (Germany by Jan Breman) (7), who points out that popular support for Hindutva primarily stems from social sections which enjoy better life than earlier generations were used to. ".... Both (German Fascism and Hindutva) originate within and also appeal to the petty bourgeoisie, a composite class which is growing in size and political weight". Despite minor difference Breman points that there are deeper similarities. Nazi ideology worked into a pseudo religious dogma, while Hindutva has packed its gospel in purely religious terms. This religiosity of Hindutva is a mere façade for a more comprehensive societal reconstruction, which is very materialistic in nature. Breman, who was born and bred during Hitler's reign and has also seen the Hindutva onslaught from close quarters, gets a distinct feeling of *de ja vu*. This is partly because of the fact that similar to the Hitler regime here also one community is singled out as arch enemy of the people (the nation), the Hindu majority. The persecution of Jews in Nazi Germany was planned and controlled by the party machinery. Though in the maze of propaganda which gives advanced legitimization to the pogroms which are to follow, the Hindutva offensive tries to cleverly masquerade its role in the pogroms against Muslims. This is possible because of a clever division of labor between 'father' (RSS) and different 'sons' and 'daughters' of this parivar. RSS trains the cadre in ideology, BJP plays the game on political chessboard, and VHP gives an emotive touch to the communal project by roping in the Sants, Mahants and the NRI's. The Rashtra Sevikasamiti backs up the RSS ideology by taking it in the sphere of home, and the Bajrang Dal translates it in to the street violence, which can take off only because of the ground work done by other members of the parivar. This was painfully obvious in Bombay and Surat in 1993. In addition the Hindutva forces encouraged hunt against the deviant forces, with those upholding the secular ethos, being next on the firing line. But unlike the Jews in Germany, Muslims are no capitalist sharks, so their 'privileged' 'appeasement' is projected and they are shown to be a pampered lot. Their political domination and harassment of Hindus in the medieval times justify also part of this aggression. Breman sharply perceives the project of Hindu Right - "marginalized as *Ahamadiya* Hindus they may be allowed to hide in their own ghettos, cordoned off like the *judenviertel* were in the Nazified Europe. In their defiled habitat they will live beyond the pale, as new untouchables in a modern India which is thoroughly Hinduized".

Table: *Similarities and differences between Hindutva and Fascism*

Hindutva	Fascism
Similarities:	

(1) It got strengthened in post-Mandal Period: after fearing the assertion of lower castes.	Came up and became strong in the wake of powerful workers movement
(2) Projects 'National' interests over The interests of the people.	Same
(3) Has the seeds of expansionism; Concept of ' Akhand Bharat' (undivided India, including Pakistan, Myanmar, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka)	Expansionist: attacked neighboring Countries on the ground that they were part of earlier German empire
(4) Targeting Muslims as the cause of the ills of the country	Targeted Jews as the cause of ills Of the country.
(5) Glorification of the past.	Same
(6) Oppressive to workers (produce For nation, don't bother about your Rights), Dalits (oppose Mandal In a subtle way of demand for	Oppressive to Jews, (subjected them To physical elimination), Communists/workers (physical violence to reduce their strength),

Meritocracy), women (they should be ideal wives and mothers), minorities (they should subjugate themselves to Hindu culture).	women (their place is in the kitchen, church and their primary role is in rearing children).
(7) Post Babri demolition resulted in social space full of Terror and anti-human rights, 'pro'-national hysteria.	The regime implemented its Pogrom through creation of mass Hysteria.
(8) Urbanised middle class and rich peasants/upper castes and some backward castes: the main support base.	Urban middle class and landed Aristocracy: the main social base.
<i>Differences:</i>	
(1) Long gestation period: Successful communalization of Social space in 'cowbelt' region; Success in polarisation of upper Castes only after implementation	Quick ascendancy to power on The anti Jew plank.

Of Mandal Commission.	
(2)Medium range social crisis from mid 80's : rising unemployment, increasing poverty.	Severe post World War economic crisis.

Trying to take a broad and critical look at the Fascist analogy of Sangh Parivar, Achin Vanaik (8) theorizes the phenomenon of Fascism and uses it for analyzing Hindu Nationalism. Vanaik feels that fascist paradigm is inappropriate and of very limited value for situating not just Hindu nationalism but a whole host of political phenomena, particularly in the third world. There are important similarities and dissimilarities between Hindutva and Fascism. To take up dissimilarities first: lack of charismatic leader in Sangh Parivar, absence of an explicitly anti-liberal/anti-democratic and anti-working class themes, absence of any verbal anti-capitalist demagoguery, absence of any orientation to the theme of a 'generational revolt' etc. Vanaik states that though Fascist formations can draw their support from all classes, they are not multi-class political formations or movements. They are not a form of authoritarian populism. "Fascist formations win ideological and political hegemony because their decisive victories are achieved on non-ideological terrain. Their momentum is conclusive. They grow rapidly but they also fade out fast if they do not achieve power. In post-colonial societies the political vehicles of religious fundamentalism or religion-based nationalism are not so much the fascist formations as, at most, potential fascist formations, where that potential may or may not be realized. While fascist state in India would necessarily be Hindu nationalist, the Hindu nationalist state would not necessarily be fascist."

Vanaik in his presentation is totally silent on the class base of Fascism. This forces him to turn to ideological realms to characterize the nature of Hindu nationalism. In a subtle shift from class analysis, to analyzing 'nation' Vanaik dumps the materialist understanding in the bin and walks on the crutches of idealism. "In last 15 years.... There has been the dramatic rise of politics of cultural exclusivism and xenophobia.... We are witnesses to four forms of which the politics of exclusivity have taken.... Rise of religious fundamentalism.... Hindu nationalism.... Spreading and swelling of carbuncles of racist and anti-immigrant xenophobia in the first world". Vanaik does relate all phenomena to global changes in correlation and feels that politics of identity has by and large overshadowed the politics of class. He sees this movement, the political vehicle of religious fundamentalism not as Fascist but only potentially so; it is an Indian variant of a generic phenomenon but does not belong to the genus of Fascism.

Discussion

Different scattered views, not necessarily mutually exclusive are prevalent in the sociological domain. The communal nature of Sangh Parivar is very obvious even at the very first level of approximation. Its fundamentalist character is easily discernible from its clinging to religious expressions. The proper characterization can come by constantly relating the social roots with the political manifestations of the Sangh Parivar.

To begin with since Fascism has been a very major category which came into being and has serious implications, it is necessary to understand the 'core' of Fascism. Narratives and analysis on Fascism can go on and on at different levels. Martin Kitchen (9) has tried to give a succinct summary of this phenomenon. It is a ultra-conservative movement rejecting liberal values, projects sovereignty of nation as absolute supreme, glorifies martial spirit, dictatorship of supreme dictator, calls for subordination of rights of individuals to the "states' sovereignty". It tends to identify the 'enemy' 'the culprit' for social ills, terrorizing the social psyche and suspending the human rights. The social backdrop of this ideology and social movement is 'fright' of the propertied classes by the unrest of the poor. Extreme poverty, inflation, malnutrition, unemployment are the grounds on which unrest of the poor is founded. Along with section of the propertied classes it is the response of middle classes to the unrest of the poor, unemployed and different social movements (organized working class in case of classical Fascism). The major thrust of attack of Fascist movement is on human rights' movements (trade union movement in case of German Fascism). The core of Fascist movement is a threatened middle class. Threatened by the struggles of the oppressed, in the backdrop of scarcity of resources. The European Fascism came up as a cataclysm, which gripped the society in a brief span of time for a brief span of time.

Sangh Parivar movement's theoretical underpinnings began decades ago. The ideological exercises and consolidation has been going on since then. Despite a vast network of *shakha's* and their followers in the state apparatus it was not a social force till 80's. Eighties saw the turmoil of lower castes. The response was anti-Dalit riots spread all over the country. The Gujarat anti-Dalit riots of 1980 are a clear example of this. The twin processes: formation of cash crop rich peasants, the small industrialists and urbanized middle class acquired a substantial presence by 80's. The precipitation of this amorphous mass into Sangh Parivar movement was brought in by many factors: the main of these was the 'Mandalisation', which brought together the core supporters of Fascism (Rich Peasants small industrialists and sections of middle class), threatened by assertion of the low castes-poor etc., immediately rallied around the Sangh Parivar.

It was not possible for Sangh Parivar to keep openly attacking the lower castes and the oppressed sections of the society. A clever maneuver has taken place here. The real project of this 'core Fascist supporters' is to keep the Dalits, poor workers and women in their place. (Also this cannot be done openly due to the seeping in of liberal values in society). The upper castes have a morbid fear of protecting their privileges and social status. Last few decades have seen a systematic, subtle campaign to degrade 'reservations' and to look down upon those who avail of these reservations. Also they hate the movements supporting the rights of poor peasants and workers. The latter especially are the 'hate objects' for the upcoming 'petty industrialists'. The upcoming 'women's rights' movement also has an effect on the upper caste/middle class Hindu males in particular, adding up to the insecurity which this group faced in the society. Thus broadly in the complex class/caste/gender scenario for the petty bourgeoisie, in this

context, the upper caste-middle class Hindu male finds the SP ideology very appealing as it suppresses the aspirations of these groups. With the development of liberal ethos worldwide it is not possible, not to pay lip service to caste less society, gender equality and human rights in general. One (upper caste/middle class) hates these human rights but one has to either (a) distract attention from the situations or (b) propagate alternative set of value system which without directly opposing these 'threats' to their status, propagate the ideology which neutralizes these assertions.

'Hindutva' fits in the bill excellently. On one hand it creates an external enemy image in the 'Muslim' and the Christian, on whose head are dumped all the historical ignominies, the causation of present evils. And thus in this direction creates 'enemies' who are to be hated, fought against, repeatedly subjected to street violence to 'ghettoise' them. And this process is done with 'hysterical intensity', the pitch of which subsumes all the other genuine voices of struggling oppressed groups. The enemy's projection through 'manufacturing history', 'doctoring mass consciousness', 'manipulating demographics' is taken to a level whereby the 'anti-enemy', pogroms or anti-missionary violence can be initiated at will. And by clever maneuvering, the dalits can be used against these internal threats to Hindu Nation, killing two birds with one stone. This whole process is so much full of 'social passion' that a terrorizing atmosphere is created which is the best way to suppress the liberal ethos and the accompanying social space for the struggles of the oppressed groups.

Hindutva also has the 'merit' at another level. After 'excluding the other' all the remaining ones are Hindus. They are projected to be a homogenous Hindu mass, in which each has an 'assigned' *dharma* (religious duty) to which each has to stick for the harmonious society to flower. The upholders of the status quo, those who are beneficiaries in the present power equations, propagate the concept of homogenous and harmonious. It is proclaimed, ours is a caste-less society, the caste politics is divisive, and we should (the lower castes) overcome the caste psychology, even at a time when caste exploitation is going on at full speed. The woman is given the 'respectable' place of 'mother' and a 'sister' 'wife' and 'daughter' these relations which the patriarchs exploit to the hilt. The workers are supposed to be doing the productive activity for the 'nation' and so should conform to the present exploitative, unjust laws, lest the 'nation' will suffer. In this 'national' project the unrestricted right of employer to exploit is conspicuous by its silent presence.

Thus nothing can fit into the political project of 'upper caste male' than the political construct of Hindutva. Unlike the Fascism's of Europe whose occurrence was cataclysmic, Indian Fascism is chronic and sub-acute. It comes in paroxysms and every occurrence of its exacerbation leaves a broader consolidation of itself. Every occurrence of its offence, leaves the 'other' (Muslim, Christian) more helpless and ghettoized. This ghettoization is a necessary accompaniment of Brahminical domination, hegemony of Hindutva. Brahminical exclusivity needs a ghetto, be it of untouchable centuries ago, or of a Muslim in 20th century (nay probably even in 21st century for that matter). Lately this project of Hindutva is also sustaining itself on banishing the Christian from the remote Adivasi areas.

Hindutva in essence is Fascism, as to use Vanaik's 'Fascist minimum' criterion, its the 'core' and class character which should determine the nature of a movement, either in opposition or in power. Fascism's core, the minimum, is the middle class base.

Hindutva's core, the social base is the cash crop farmer, the petty industrialist and multiple segments of middle classes (bureaucracy, professionals, traders etc.) latched on to the big capital. The peripheral manifestations apart, which can change in place and time. Fascism and Hindutva share the commonality, the same social base. Hindutva is a sub-acute, chronic Fascism of a caste-ridden, postcolonial society.

Where does Hindutva differ from the Fascism of European variety? To begin with the ideological base and cadre of Hindutva were prepared for decades by the RSS, before the change in social dynamics resulted in threat to the power of its social constituency which in turn fell back on a ready made formation. In between period there were many individuals, from these segments who had veered around to its politics. Secondly, Hindutva, as a Fascist variant, has invaded the social imagery in a much more consistent and planned way. Unlike cataclysmic Fascism, its dedicated soldiers infiltrated army, bureaucracy, police, media and education for decades to prepare the ground for smooth walk-in of the Hindutva in the social space. Thirdly, probably because of the above, Hindutva does not send a 'radical' rhetoric of 'Socialism' or some such, which was used by European Fascism. The absence of radical rhetoric is a strength of Hindutva as it eliminates the need to undertake radical social reforms whenever it succeeds in capturing the power in small sectors, states, of the country. In a way Hindutva is an organically stronger variety of Fascism as it does not need the radical rhetoric to propel its engine. There is another subtle problem in native Fascism. The unspoken north south divide. The imageries of Hindutva are mainly around north Indian upper caste male. This hegemony is yet to succeed in its goal in subjugating the non-Hindi speaking regions. With the rise of cash crops farmers and other social bases (middle classes) of Hindutva, in non-Hindi speaking regions also, there is a possibility of this movement getting foothold in these regions as well. Only time will tell the extent of that.

Hindutva's goal

Hindu Rashtra is not a religious state; it is a 'modern' phenomenon to impose the pre-modern social hierarchies on all sections of society. It is the goal of a section of society, which is the major beneficiary of current social privileges, the section of society, which have gained in the process of development of last few decades. It was the goal of section of society which was threatened by the social changes in pre-independence times (*zamindar-brahmins*) and who were champions of status quo and were allies of British at economic and political level. The Hindu Rashtra which is threatening to engulf the society from last two decades is the battle cry of the sections who again are upholder of a status quo vis-à-vis social position of women, workers, dalits and Adivasis. It is the offence of the section of society, which has benefited maximum by proliferation of middle classes-small industries, petty business and agriculture of the 'Green Revolution' type and of the professional and bureaucratic cadres. Indian Nationalism as an encompassing concept based itself on secular grounds and attempts to strive for formal liberty equality and fraternity supplemented by the liberal space to struggle to convert these formal concepts in to reality. Indian Nationalism is a positive concept, incorporating different religion's, ethnicity's and culture's and is an integral part of world economy and emerging global village.

The chronicity, i.e. slow speed of this movement has its inherent problems. Whereas on one hand it can capture the social space, on the other it can also elicit a reaction to itself. This reaction to it from dalits, workers, women, section of middle class that is secular, is a big obstacle to the march of Hindutva. Big capital, the major industrial houses have a unique relation with Sangh Parivar. Whenever faced with crisis to their own existences the socially terrorizing atmosphere created by Sangh Parivar helps the bourgeoisie to wriggle out of the compulsions of liberal ethos. The conservative movement of Sangh Parivar helps the needs of capital to keep thriving in an uninterrupted way. Thus this, chronic, resilient, thriving Fascism, expressed through the vehicle of Sangh Parivar continues to throw up different shades of its existence, sometimes terrorizing (to the poor and the minorities) sometimes aggressive (to the neighboring 'enemy' countries), and sometimes even appearing to collapse under the weight of its own contradictions. But the march, at the moment is on. The social roots of Hindutva are all for the support and continuation of the repressive capitalist regime; sustaining the bourgeoisie aspirations, while continuing to pursue its own project.

Hindutva onslaught draws some support from fundamentalist concepts also. It culls out from the past-selective values to impose them on present. It uses religious imagery, glorifies the 'golden past' of rule of Hindu kings, sees women primarily under patriarchal control dictating their way of life, dress code etc. It co-opts all and sundry religious professionals and personnel to strengthen its political base and it uses religion in a very effective way to create the nationalist hysteria. At present the situation is fairly in balance. The onslaught has achieved mammoth proportions in the north, but south and east are comparatively unaffected by its paranoid aggression. The reaction of Dalits, though fragmented is definitely going to retard the march of the *rath* (Chariot) of Hindutva.

The apparent target of Sangh Parivar, the Muslims are in a bind. On one hand they have been battered so much by Hindutva that they cannot afford to lie quiet any more. Secondly unlike the Dalits they lie in sub-critical zone of backwardness where they find it difficult to come out of the grip of their own 'religious leaders', 'the Muslim obscurantists' posing to be speaking on behalf of their community. Thus they face a double attack from both Hindu Fascism and Muslim fundamentalism. Probably the suffering of the 'poor Muslims' is so great that they will be forced to come out and resist the 'bears hug' of Sangh Parivar and by side-tracking their 'obscurantist leaders' will pose definite obstacle to the march of 'Trishuls of Hindutva'. How Sangh Parivar overcomes this 'problem' which new 'velvet gloves' it discovers to remove this obstacle remains to be seen. The response of Christian community though mixed, to a great extent has been that of responding in a strong secular manner, to defend the Human rights of different sections in general and to defend the secular rights of minorities in particular. This is a ongoing phenomenon set into motion due to the attacks on Christians by different wings of SP directed by the ideological formulation of the RSS.

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CHAPTER 5

HINDUTVA AND THE Exploited-Oppressed Sections of Society

Workers movement:

During independence struggle, workers were organized by communists. Later, they were the major opposition party. Their understanding was based on 'irreconcilability of class interests', 'class war' and 'haves' and 'have-nots' ideas. SP founded Bharatiya Majdoor Sangh (BMS) to counter the influence of communists amongst workers. BMS rejects the principle of class struggle. Though it is formally critical of capitalist greed for profit it is not critical of the system which gives rise to the capitalists and their absolute control over means of production. It puts forward the Hindu alternative, the ideal of converting enterprises into occupational families, i.e. perpetuation of the inherent patriarchal power relations in society. As per them workers are to participate in management under the patriarchal supervision of industrialists.

It advises that workers should 'cultivate harmonious relations' with the owners of enterprises. It rejects international solidarity of labor. In practice BMS operates as a 'milder' form of trade union mainly amongst 'white collar' workers. No militant agitations are undertaken. Also SP mobilized workers for 'Kar Seva' through BMS. It is conspicuous by its absence amongst agricultural labor, poor workers and in adivasi struggles.

It is interesting that today when the organized work force has been reduced in size, and the production is being shifted to small-scale sector, where the conditions of work are abysmal, BMS is conspicuous by its silence on these issues. Even amongst workers its main interest has been increasing productivity. The '*swadeshi*' industrialists are appreciated despite extremely bad working conditions in their factories. It is strong opponent of globalization and puts *swadeshi* as the alternative. It has nothing to offer on the condition of workers in the current industrial scenario, where the worst phase of workers movement is struggling against the 'clever' tactics of the management's. The proliferation of the sweatshops and the sub-human condition of workers in those has not been of any concern to this so called Union, which in real sense is the arm of the management. It had opposed strikes as the weapon even at times when strikes were very effective, its argument being that stoppage of production goes against 'national interests'. As far as the currently prevalent 'closures' are concerned BMS has maintained total silence on the issue. Closures have times and over again been used by the industrialists to break the strength of the unions. They have also been used by industrialists to siphon off the profits of the industry and to shift production to different industrial areas. The attitude and policies of this wing of SP has been overall been very much in favor of the industrialists. At places BMS and its junior caricature, Bhartiya Kamgar Sena (affiliated to Shiva Sena) have played the role of willing tool in the hands of management to break the unity of workers in the plants, in turn acting as the extensions of the personnel departments of the management's.

Women's movement

Women relatives of RSS members wanted to join RSS, an exclusively male organization, but they were advised to form a separate Rashtrasevika Samiti (cf RSS - National Volunteers: have autonomy and self-choice, (RS - Humble servants of the nation), founded in 1936. It is modeled on '*Dharmapatni*' (Loyal wife) to the dominant organisation (RSS), and draws subtly from *Manusmriti* where womb is equated to field, in which men sow seeds and so the production of field is theirs. As per this text (*Manusmriti*), wife has to be thrifty, should do her housework cheerfully and obey her husband in life and death, and observe celibacy after his death. Disobedient woman is threatened with dire consequences in this and the next life. Woman is supposed to be having an inferior intellect and is supposed to be unreliable as a witness.

RS relegates women's work within *samiti* organization to a subordinate role, also consigning their domestic labor firmly to the sphere of humble service. Women are to be dependents and under patronage of father, husband and son, in different stages of life. Women are denied access to *upanayan*, thread ceremony (beginning of sacred learning of males). As for women marriage is prescribed as a substitute for learning and serving husband and running the household is equated to studentship. SP defines women in the image of Hindu goddesses and i.e. as dutiful and sacrificing, mothers and wives. In the same spirit BJP looks upon women as '*matrishakhti*' (mother power). Similarly BJP Mahila Morcha (women's wing) proclaims that they differ from what is termed as women's liberation movement in the west. RS affirms that we require a sort of readjustment in the social and family set up. No fundamental change in values is needed. Women in India ever had a pride of place within the household and society. That has only to be re-established and reaffirmed. Even as per Mridula Sinha, ex- President of BJP's Mahila Morcha, women's role in family is primary. In their life and activities family and its unity must be given priority. Too much of freedom to women would break the family to which SP is strongly opposed. This is in stark contrast to the premises of women's movement, which challenges the domination of women within family and society. Ideology of Hindutva aims to subjugate the women with an honorable looking place in society and family.

For communalists, identity of community is built through bodies of women. Commenting on the episode where Shivaji respectfully let go the daughter-in-law of ruler of Bassein, who was brought in by his army as a part of the loot, Savarkar said liberal policy adopted by Shivaji in case of Muslim women was wrong. His biographer Dhananjay Keer (Veer Savarkar: Popular Prakashan, Mumbai, 1966 pg 539) writes "as the cultured and human treatment could not evoke in those fanatics (*Muslims, added*) the same feelings about Hindu women. They should have been given tit for tat, he observed frankly, so that they might have realized the horrors of those brutalities." By implication women of 'other' community are to be subjected to sexual humiliation as a measure, to defend the honor of 'our' women. Savarkar here is indulging in a double exercise, on one hand he is projecting the patriarchal norm of building the community identity on the bodies of women, and thereby is justifying rape of women of minority community. On the other, he is laying the foundation of a baseless stereotype that those belonging to

minority community are inherently immoral. This so called militant approach towards rape is in line with that of fascist world view which proposes the humiliation of the women of the other community as retribution or pre-emptive measure to defend the honor of 'our' women.

The progression of this thought has found its echoes in the communal riots, more so the one's following the post demolition 92-93 riots, and particularly in the Surat. One can clearly see the mechanism, which goes into building the mass psychology, engineered by the majoritarian propaganda. The dominant group alleges of rape of 'their' women by men of minority community: an accusation which can later justify dominant community hegemony and serves to demonstrate 'lack of character' of minority men, who show scant respect to women. And thus automatically, minority community women can be projected to be belonging to immoral men, thereby being characterless, and deserving the treatment, which the forces of majority unleash upon the minority community women. Golwalkar pontificates that as women are predominantly mothers they should help Sangh cause most by rearing their children within the framework of Hindu *samskars* (traditional rituals). Disparity is an indivisible part of nature and we have to live with it, harmony and not equality should be organizing principle. Women should be 'ideal' mothers and bring up children within frame of RSS *samskaras*. A.B. Vajpayee in one of his interviews to a Hindi weekly states that women who want to become like men are worth ridiculing. Hindutva votaries (forgetting Manusmriti) concoct that women had a more honorable place in Hindu society, its only to protect them from being the 'prey' of aliens that restrictions on their social life were imposed. Hindutva goes on to distort history to invoke the invasion of Muslim kings to justify the restrictions imposed on women and to explain the decline in the status of women from a condition of 'bliss'. This explicit projection of patriarchal norm, as a response to external threats and challenges is aimed to absolve the Hindu society of any inherent hierarchical characteristic. This externalizing of the problem is a respite from confrontation within Hindu society. So those who are opposed to patriarchy, the discomfort of opposing the near ones is eliminated as the repression is projected to be originating from the outsider, the 'other'.

Mridula Sinha ex-President of BJP Mahila Morcha, in an interview to Savvy, April 1994, states that (1) A woman should not work outside the home unless her family is financially very deprived. (2) I gave dowry and received dowry. (3) I oppose women's liberation, as it is another name for 'loose morals'. (4) We oppose equal rights for both sexes. (5) There is nothing wrong with domestic violence against women: very often it is women's fault. We advice women to try and adjust, as her not adjustment creates the problem. (6) Women's future lies in perpetuating the present, because no where else are women worshipped as we are in India. (7) For us women's liberation means liberation from atrocities. It does not mean they should be relieved of their duties as wives and mothers. One of the past presidents of Mahila Morcha Vijaya Raje Scindia, led a group of women in protest march against 'anti-sati' legislation, asserting that, 'It is the fundamental right of Hindu women to commit *sati* (burning of woman on the funeral pyre of her husband), as it is in preservation of our past glory and culture'. Nearly 20,000 '*kar sevikas*' helped the '*kar sevaks*' who went to demolish the *masjid*, by cooking and cleaning for them. During

demolition of the masjid Uma Bharati and Sadhavi Rithamhara exhorted their male 'brethren' to participate in demolition.

Rashtra Sevikasamiti (RS): In contrast to the street battle exercises of RSS, RS initiated physical exercises are based on the ground that a healthy feminine body would produce strong children, only healthy women can produce strong progeny. Kamal clubs have been started by RS for teaching cookery and hairstyling. RS takes ambiguous stand on dowry and bride burning. Samiti members help each other to raise the dowry. They disapprove of divorce. There is no provision of legal counseling to women fighting against their family for their rights. In response to coming into newer space of social life, SP straight jackets their role as ideal mothers and wives, subordinate to the males.

SP maintains that man and women are equal, but not the same. It has a formal approach to equality. Its policy is to strengthen their traditional roles. By projecting formal equality and different roles SP is not only able to side track the affirmative action but also ensure women's continuing subordinate role in the society. Hindutva movement as a whole has been trying to put a garb of modernity on the traditions. On one hand it wants to ensure that women stay bound within the limits of traditional womanhood (traditional female rituals are glorified by them) on the other they are encouraged to transcend their domestic bounds into newer political space. There has been an assertive participation of women in Hindutva project, to the extent of their actively encouraging and participation in actual violence. SP has been able to do this by creating a sense of community to provide solution to their problems of community life, thereby creating a social niche for women. Hindutva challenges notions of female emancipation, this is in contrast to women's movements' opposition to the notion of female domination within family and society. The 'success' of SP is due to the fact that women see it as crusaders for protecting what they see as necessary for integrity of the nation, in the cause of Hindutva. This situation is putting women in a bind between democratic norms and gender justice on one hand and the fact that their identity is tied to their community (gender identity).

Similarly one sees the minor saffron outfit, the Shiv Sena has succeeded in mobilizing women from lower middle class by involving them in crèches, mid day meal schemes, helping them with civic amenities, celebration of festivals etc. This gives them self-esteem, thereby providing a space for cultural assertion by women. This is a 'clever' balance between tradition and change. This is in contrast to the hard grueling work put in by feminists, who though assist them in their struggles for rights without giving any community identity. In this sense the struggles though desirable and correct remain alienating and isolating. While in case of Hindutva mobilization they are able occupy new spaces in a controlled, non-alienating way, not going against the near ones. This controlled freedom has given a big boost to women's participation in SP controlled movement. Thus while women's liberation challenges notions of status and domination within the family and in other spaces of society, and wants women to ask uncomfortable questions by taking painful risks, Hindutva appears to be attractive in the short term by giving them a respectable place within society with no risks being taken while fulfilling temporary aspirations. It is interesting to note that most of the prominent women leaders of SP are projected as desexualized, celibates (Vijaya Raje Scindia, Uma Bharati and

Sadhvi Ritambhara). SP gives enough legitimacy in notions of selflessness, sacrifice and subservience. The female leaderships directive, exhortation is mainly directed at 'male brethren', to exercise violence against the enemy.

Despite some differences there are 'core' level similarities between SP attitude to women and the Nazi attitude to women. Nazis looked down upon female emancipation and motherhood for women was projected to be the most sacred virtue (Hitler: Motherhood is the greatest honor for women). It was projected that German women have more liking for kitchen, home and rearing children and church, 'German women want to be wives and mothers'. She was projected to be vehicle of German culture and guardian of its racial purity, also being told to be virtuous by accepting sacrifices. Most of women had enthusiasm in Hitler's project due to its social importance accorded to the activities, which they carried out anyway (kitchen, child rearing). Adolf Hitler was quoted in modified form by Golwarkar who said 'wonderful thing about nature, e.g. providence is that there is no conflict between the sexes as long as each of them performs the function prescribed by nature'. Official Nazi doctrine proclaimed the ideology of sex differences between men and women and went on to prescribe sex specific work.

(Source :Tanika Sarkar, Urvashi Butalia "Women and the Hindu Right", Kali For Women: Delhi, 1995)

Dalits

With recent domination of political scenario, the BJP has emerged as the major political party at the center in particular and may states in general. The catch of dalit support for its upper caste, upper class agenda has been a bit tricky thing and SP has been experimenting electoral alliances, and co-options etc. Its major gambles in this direction had been a brief support to the government led by Mayawati. During a 3-½ month BSP rule, BJP's upper caste supporters got jittery due to the anti-upper caste rhetoric and promotion of Periyar a Brahmin hater by the Mayavati Govt. The crisis shaking the upper castes support of the BJP forced it to withdraw its brief experiment of flirting with BSP leading to a loss of face and negation of the possibility of projecting itself as the supporter of dalits' government. This exercise was taken mainly to remove the popular notion of BJP being the upper caste party. With its withdrawal of support a new chapter has opened up in its attempts to undo its image as the party committed to the upper caste interests.

Its government in Gujarat, (97-98) which was ruling with 2/3rd of majority, appeared to be sailing smoothly and also vying to project itself as a model state. The RSS controller of the BJP was ruling the roost and blinded by its 2/3rd majority the unabashed promotion of upper caste interests went on till Shankersingh Vaghela rebelled against the upper caste bias of the party. This bias was apparent in distribution of plum posts as well as in other matters of the state. Its alliance with Shiv Sena in Maharashtra seems to be sailing comparatively smoothly but its anti-dalit policies are bound to raise ripples of protests

amongst the various Dalit organisations. This government has brought a ban on slaughter of cow progeny, leading to deprivation of the only available rich source of protein for the poor dalits and also resulting in professional problems to the *chambhar* (cobbler) community. The Sena BJP governments move to withdraw cases against those involved in anti dalit atrocities in Marathwada is leading to protests amongst different oppressed groups.

SP though founded precisely to propagate the interests of upper caste Hindus can obviously not speak in this language. There lies a deep-set dichotomy in its pronouncements and the policies, which in the real sense are detrimental to the interests of the lower castes. Like any ruling group, which wants to impose its hegemony over society, it has to project caste neutral preaching. It does not outright condemn 'Manusmriti' which gives a lowliest of low status to the lower caste, but there are attempts by different SP ideologues to rationalize the origin of caste system, on the grounds of efficient division of labor. Starting from this pretext, the major 'speak' of Sangh is silent on the atrocities of upper castes on the dalits and the ploy is that of the preservation of homogeneity of the Hindu society. Though it claims that SP minces no words in laying bare the serious defects and distortions in social psyche which has led to the downfall of Hindus, it practically boils down to laying all the blame on 'Muslim invaders' for all the ills of Hindu society. As per SP, the more one harps upon the differences, the more acute will the discordant notes they will generate in the society. This is inversion of reality. One has to recognize the division of society in to different castes and identify the exploited ones to enable them to overcome it. Glossing over these differences is only of benefit to the upper castes that stand to benefit from the status quo. SP calls upon overcoming caste-rivalries and untouchability, as these have rendered the Hindus weak. As per SP's ideologue Sheshadri, champions of caste war and of the oppressed and exploited are in fact their worst enemies, as dalit's real redemption lies in standing up as Hindus, as 'equal' and 'honored' partners of the Hindu society.

Some of the SP ideologues argue that the old struggles were always between different religious groups or states and not between different castes. They speak of caste erosion and not destruction. And this erosion is to be achieved at ideological level by ignoring caste considerations and by giving importance to the fact of ones' being Hindu. In most of the ideological writings of SP there is an attempt to keep quiet about the caste issue as such. The root cause of today's caste problem is attributed to the minorityism of the ruling party, and this has resulted in the division of nation on the basis of communalism. Reservation as per them, which was originally conceived of as a means of creating social equality, is now being used as a powerful political weapon.

Some other ideologues of the SP have gone on to put the blame of untouchability on Islam, the Mughal invasion etc(Ashok Singhal). As per their calculation dalits coming close to BJP will make them (dalits) realise the real roots of their exploitation. This type of substitutionism in history was supposed to be the 'raison-de-tre' of BJP-BSP alliance. As per these all communities were equal and enjoyed the same rights till the advent of Islamic-Christian rule. Unmindful of the history, these politicians assert that humiliation began to be heaped only after the Islamic invasions of our country, which led to

repression of different communities, that fought Islamic invaders and defied conversion into Islam, which led to their humiliation and torture. This led to these communities being uprooted from their home and hearth for defying the invaders and not giving up their religion. As a result they became poor and had to struggle a lot. These suffering communities came to be treated as untouchables with invaders perpetrating unspeakable horrors on them.

BJP has couched its views and attitudes towards dalits in a very clever way. It will not criticise dalits, but when faced with their movements, demands and cultural upsurge it will start beating the drum of abolishing reservations and upholding merit. This was perfected as an art when Mandal commission recommendations were implemented and later when BSP began a verbal tirade against the symbolism projected by S P. To counter Mandal, it did not want to be visible in opposing it. So it did not support the upper caste Hindu students self immolation etc., but to side track the issue it began its Rath Yatra and later withdrew its support from the V.P. Singh government leading to its fall (1990). Similarly when faced with Mayawati's Periyar Mela-anti-upper caste pronouncements its 'sophisticated face' Vajpayee, attacked the proposed extension of reservations to non-hindu dalits and by demanding a review of reservation policy.

At grass root level SP intermittently takes up programmes to negate its upper caste image. Its 'Samajik Samarasata' (Social Harmony) programme, where VHP activists had '*Ram Khichdi*' with the dalits in slums was one such. Similarly they do not oppose installation of Ambedkar statues in the bastis. Ambedkar is already too towering and too acceptable a figure to be opposed but when it came to Periyar, another expression of dalit opposition to upper caste hegemony, the spontaneous reaction of SP was to oppose functions held to honour him. It may take sometime for SP to convert Periyar into an acceptable 'icon' divested of what he stands for.

For long, consciousness of caste was the preserve of the Brahminic upper castes. Today the very sufferers from the system are invoking caste identity and claims. Those who seek obliteration of the divisions and the disparities that characterise the deeply hierarchical nature of the caste system are found to use it the most. This is with the hope to undermine it by undertaking basic transformation in social order. No doubt more such assertion takes place, the more the backlash from the upper castes and the well to do who find this rise of masses intolerable and something they have never been used. Also more is the effort to divide confuse and co-opt the forces of change. This has led to a repressive state on one side and mobilisation based on caste on the other. Popularly casteism is considered as bad as communalism, votaries of Hindu communalism are against caste raising its head to register old or new claims on the system. It is difficult to imagine that as caste can be oppressive, similarly it can also provide a basis for struggle against oppression. It can at once be a traditionaliser and a moderniser. It has the potentiality of being a two pronged catalyst, as purveyor of community identity and annihilator of the same hierarchical order from which the collective identity is drawn. As per Rajani Kothari casteism in politics is an agenda for the very abolition of the caste system. Caste can be used in support of secularising and democratising movement, casteism in politics can be used to abolish the caste system. When the oppressor castes use casteism it

strengthens the exploitative caste system, while the use of casteism by oppressed castes has a opposite meaning: it asserts their identity, it gives them a ground to struggle for social and economic justice. Caste and communalism pose a threat to democratic polity: but the threat posed is very different. Caste can be used in secularising and democratising movements. Communalism undermines the plurality and diversity and the basic democratic vision of society. Assertion of caste is an attempt to realise the principles of equality and non-discrimination. The inadequacy of policies the previous governments have resulted in the failure to bridge the social gap between the low caste/oppressed class and other sectors of society. This has unleashed a process of assertion by the lower castes and OBCs; frightened by this the upper castes are equating 'casteism' with communalism. Communalism is the virus spearheading the interests of the elite of society, the upper castes. The customs of lower castes have an anti-exploitative, liberatory potential, potential to usher in secularization, a potential to strengthen democratic norms in society. It gives them an identity, a ground to struggle for their social and economic rights.

Brahminism is not a fixed dogma but is highly adaptable and is forever looking for new pastures engaging both in a backlash against the newly emerging forces and co-optation of middle and lower castes, the backwards and dalits. And especially those persons amongst them who have been able to move out of menial and depressing conditions of toiling masses and who are able to spearhead a movement against the dominant forces but who have been 'sanskritised'. Meanwhile scared by rise of dalits and their slow entry into middle professions in rural political arena, a picture of phenomenal increase in casteism and outbreak of caste war is being projected by the media. The meaning of *dalit-savarna samarasata* in real sense is to hide the contradictions and to continue upholding the status quo. It is only the uprising of dalits which can check the onslaught of Hindus and that's why many a SP politicians are trying their best to undermine these contradictions.

As per Ambedkar Hindus are not a nation neither are they a society. The reality of social life of Hinduism is caste system because of which there is a lack of dialogue and opportunities in social life. There is no feeling of togetherness. Due to the social, economic and educational contradictions of this society Hindus cannot become a nation. The projection by SP that the caste system is divine and eternal, and Ambedkar's suffering at the hands of caste system led him to say that he was born a Hindu but will not die a Hindu. This proclamation of his came due to his frustration due to failure of multiple movements aiming at eradication of caste system (Mahad, Kalaram Temple, Manusmriti burning etc.). He met with upper caste resistance to dalit movement, and this is why he gradually came to the conclusion of leaving Hindu fold along with his followers.

BJP is making all out ideological appeal to win over dalits by projecting that teachings of Ambedkar and Savarkar are similar, as both were anti Muslim and both wanted to reform Hindu society. Savarkar attacked superstitions and advocated the abolition of untouchability and integration of Dalits with caste Hindus for the formation of a united strong Hindu Nation, though he did not support natural rights of human beings, nor did he fight at any time against the social oppression. While Ambedkar stood for democratic

values of liberty, equality, fraternity and organised untouchables to fight for their social and economic rights.

After his initial support to the idea of Pakistan, on the grounds that Muslims were a separate nation, he realised that formation of Pakistan would increase the possibility of Hindu Raj, he changed his opinion on the separate state for Muslims. He came to the conclusion that "If Hindu Raj does become a fact, it will no doubt, be the greatest calamity for this country. No matter what the Hindus say, Hinduism is a menace to liberty, equality and fraternity. On that account it is incompatible with Democracy. Hindu Raj must be prevented at any cost". In this context he visualised the formation of a party having a programme of social and economic regeneration of the people. As per him 'There are many lower orders in Hindu society whose economic, political and social needs are the same as those of the majority of Muslims and they would be far more ready to make a common cause with Muslims for achieving common ends than they would with high caste Hindus who have denied and deprived them of ordinary human rights for centuries.

Savarkar opposed caste system but did not support any of the campaigns against untouchability led by Ambedkar. Movement against untouchability was never on the agenda of RSS or Hindu Mahasabha. His attempts to get entry into temples or his efforts to be part of the 'Hindu' society were not taken up by today's claimants of social harmony.

Golwalkar writes that Manu is the first and greatest law giver of the mankind, whose code has asked all people all over the world to learn wisdom from traditional Brahmins. Manu had converted the 'vansh', division of labor into jati, caste system. As per which the only duty of shudra is to serve Brahmins, who in turn should give him left over food, discarded clothes and utensils. If shudra try to study, their tongue should be chopped off and if they happen to hear the noble 'Vedas', molten lead should be poured into their ears. Purush Sukta states that Brahmins are head, kshatriya arms, Vaishyas groin and shudra are the feet.

In Dec. 1992 Dharam Sansad of VHP criticised Indian constitution as being anti-Hindu and demanded that it be replaced by a 'Hindu Constitution'. According to SP Manusmriti has provided justice to all, and that these laws are more important than constitution of India.

Hindutva onslaught propagates formal equality irrespective of caste, gender and religion. Such a bland assertion ignores the existing inequalities, and goes in to strengthen the current inequalities. On the face of it SP asserts equality, but in a subtle way it sustains the chronic, low intensity warfare against the lower castes. BJP has couched its views and attitudes towards dalits in a very clever way. It will not criticise dalits but whenever faced with their movements, demands and cultural upsurge, it will start beating the drum of abolishing reservations and upholding merit. There is a whispering campaign against reservations for dalits. It could not oppose Mandal for electoral reasons, so it decided to distract the social focus to 'Ram Temple'.

Despite the assertions of SP, Dalits have realised the designs of SP, and except few upwardly mobile elements from amongst them other do not fall prey to their 'social

engineering' tactics. SP has been traditionally opposed to the thoughts of Phule and Ambedkar. It has lately evolved the strategies (a) to co-opt the upwardly mobile dalits into its fold and to spread Hindutva politics amongst large sections of dalits. It has floated 'samajik samarasata manch' (Social Harmony Forum). SP is the subtle upholder of Brahminical ethos (Veda, Geeta, Ramayan) in contrast to non-Brahminical streams which flowed through Sankhya, Lokayat Buddha.

In order to achieve its goal at ideological level SP is busy Brahminising Phule and Ambedkar, more so the latter. This clever exercise involve picking up the concepts from Phule and Ambedkar and giving them a subtle twist which have 'pro-Brahmin' 'status quo' meanings in a deeper sense. To begin with SP presents Buddha as the 10th incarnation of Vishnu, born to reform Hinduism and in the process deletes anti Veda teachings of Buddha and substitutes them by belief in god, which is antithetical to Buddhism. As per Phule caste is the foundation of state and exploitation, while Ambedkar goes on to say that caste system is a division of laborers and that capitalism and Brahminism are twin enemies of the poor, calling for caste struggle to get rid of the caste system. In a subtle twist SP goes on to get rid of the idea of caste struggle bringing in social harmony and unity of Hindu nation in its place. For SP anti-caste dalit organisations, revolutionary political struggles are an anathema.

It also tries to project that Buddha's Dharma is our own 'Dharma', a belief in god (non existent in Dharma) and that Buddhism is a part of Hinduism and concocts that Ambedkar was supporter of Hindu Rashtra. As we have seen above Ambedkar dreaded the very idea of Hindu Raj, but banking on Gobbelsian techniques SP ideologues go unabashedly to propound these. For Ambedkar abolition of the caste was prerequisite for Indian unity while SP's emphasis is the Hindu unity which supposedly automatically will result in abolition of castes, as the harmony will result in abolition of caste. On similar lines was the propagation of idea of 'first Hindu unity and then national freedom'. While Phule called for abolition of money lending system, Ambedkar developed this further into demand for democratic revolution. In SP's scheme of things there is no separate place for dalit politics. The Shankaracharya's who are projected as leaders of Hindu society were the ones who spearhead anti-Buddha counter offensive with the help of Brahmins.

Hindutva's emphasis is on subtle Brahminism, Brahminical culture, history, literature (Veda's, Geeta) and upholding of Brahminical symbols. Ambedkar's criticism of Islam is highlighted by Hindutva ideologues simultaneously hiding his anti-Hindu stance. Ambedkar was very clear that affection shown by Hindu organisation for dalits is illusory. He wanted equal rights while staying within Hindu fold or if necessary by discarding Hindu fold. The question for him was why should we stay in the Hindu fold just to be kicked by them? It was his realisation about the rigid hierarchy, inherently built in Hinduism, which prompted him to convert to Buddhism. In contrast to Ambedkar SP subtly stands for Atmavad, Karmavad and Chaturvarnya. Ambedkar stood for caste struggle; SP propagates (caste) social harmony. Ambedkar criticises Ram, Krishna and Geeta, while SP upholds all these. He countered the falsehood spread SP by saying that it is wrong to say that Buddha is reincarnation of Vishnu. SP propagates the subservient women ideals of Sita and Savitri. Savarkar condemned Ambedkar's conversion in no uncertain terms. In contrast to 'one culture' (Brahminism) assertion of SP, Ambedkar

reminds us of the non-Brahminical multiple small cultures which stood opposed to one culture of Brahminism.

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Minorities:

1) *Muslims*

There has been a systematic creation of myths against the Muslims that successive governments pampered and appeased the community, that they are polygamous, that their fertility rates are higher and that they are anti- National

Their status in employment and other parameters are a good index of their social status, and appeasement.

In Govt. sector in higher cadres their representation is very small (Class I: 3.19%, class II 4.30%. In class IV is just 8.16%, while in private sector this figure is much lower) In High Courts out of 310 judges as on 1.4.1980, only 14 were Muslims. In All India Services (IAS): In decision-making posts Muslim representation was (1984 figures) 2.14%, in Indian police service 3%, Central Secretariat Service 1.43%, and only 0.72 of them were Section officers.

In Industry: Among the country's top industrial houses, not one is owned or controlled by a Muslim. As to participation in fresh growth of industries, the situation of industrial licenses issued for units between Rs.3 crores and Rs.20 crores during the year 1979 is as follows: Total No. 260, Muslims: 5 (1.9%), 1980 Total 386, Muslims 6 (1.5%).

Muslims are predominately in the handicraft sector as skilled artisans. A countrywide survey, which covered 31 districts, from 12 States indicates that out of 12.68 lakh artisans employed in this Sector, 51.89 per cent were Muslims. But Muslim ownership accounted for only 4.4 per cent. In terms of financial assistance, Muslim borrowers were 4.3 percent, and the volume of loans paid out to them was 2.02 per cent. The total financial sector disbursed only 3.76 per cent differential interest rate credit to Muslims. The average per capita income of Muslims is 5 per cent less than average of Rs.4, 247. *Education* According to the survey of the Planning Commission, 87-88, the average literacy rate among Muslims was 42 per cent, which is less than the national average of 52.11 per cent. In the case of women, only 11 per cent Muslim women were literate compared to the national average of 39.42 per cent

Figures for the period 1980-81, indicate that the educational status of this community is that (1) only 4 per cent appeared in Class X (Board of Secondary Education) examinations in 8 States, out of the total that appeared for the examination, and (2) there were only 3.4 per cent Muslims in Graduate Engineering and only 3.44 per cent in MBBS. In his book, "Muslims in Free India", Moin Shakir, reveals that at the time of the

Partition, the representation of Muslims in armed forces, was 32% but today it stands at a mere 2%.

The dominant communal forces which over the years have propagated myths like, Muslims are allowed to have four wives, they invariably have more children, they are opposed to family planning methods, their higher growth rate is due to Islam and due to their higher growth rate they will soon outnumber the Hindus. The communalists have on purpose projected the fear of Muslim population growth to consolidate their own electoral majority and towards this strategy they have effectively combined half truths, ideological concoctions and rumour spreading techniques to entrench these myths in popular psyche.

We will like to begin with the myth that the rise in Muslim population is tremendously high and so they will outnumber the Hindus. The census surveys by religion totally negate this firmly held popular belief. Religion is one of the markers used in these surveys. As per 1971 survey Hindus constituted 82.7% and Muslims 11.2% of the population. The corresponding figures for 1991 census are Hindus 82.6% and Muslims 11.4%. (Malayalam Manorama ,1992). The marginal difference in the growth pattern as we will see a bit later has more to do with socio-economic factors rather than the religious ones. Over all this statistics shows a reasonably 'stable' (religion wise) population. That apart even if the current differentials persist, it is not only unlikely, but impossible for Muslim population to overtake the Hindu population for the next century or so. On the contrary if the prevailing growth rates are analysed, it will be clear that between 61-71 and 71-81, Hindu population increase went up from 23.71 to 24.42, while between the same period Muslim population increase went down from 30.85 to 30.20. If these rate of growths are frozen at same level hundred years from 1981, Hindus and Muslims will record a decadal growth rate of 30.71 and 30.55 respectively i.e. growth rates of Hindus will be higher.

Another firmly held belief in popular conception is that Muslims do not practice family planning because of their religion. It is true that a section of Islamic fundamentalist clergy does pass occasional fatwas to disapprove family planning, but a section of clergy can neither be equated to Islam, nor to Quran, nor to emerging Islamic practices as such. On the contrary many *Ulemas* of different countries have actually favoured temporary forms of family planning. In his book 'Family planning and legacy of Islam' Islamic scholar A R Omran of Cairo dispels the myth that Islam is inherently against family planning, as per him there is no text in Koran prohibiting prevention of pregnancy. In Islamic countries like Turkey and Indonesia family planning methods are quite popular. In Turkey for example 63% of the population in the reproductive age group uses contraception and in Indonesia the figure is 48%. In India the number of Muslim couples in the child bearing age practising family planning in 1970 was 9%(Hindus 14%) and in 1980, 22.5%(Hindus 36.1%) (Operation research group, Baroda 1981). Thus the number of additional Muslims taking to family planning is keeping pace with the number of Hindus doing the same. Like all other social programmes family planning is also linked with socio-economic status, level of general social awareness

etc. We will be repeatedly encountering this fact that a large number of Muslims being in the low socio economic strata, share these statistics more with other socially disadvantaged sections of society.

Similarly the myth of polygamy amongst the Muslims is also very firmly rooted in popular mind. The correlation of polygamy with increase in population is the most simplistic concoction to have taken grip of our psyche. Overall the number of children born depends on the number of women in the reproductive age group and is limited by that. On first count it is immaterial whether a man is having one or more wives as the total number of children depends on the number of women, which does not get influenced by polygamy. If at all, this number of women has more to do with the prevalence of social practice of female infanticide and 'bride burning' in the areas where the practice of extortion by parents of 'grooms' called dowry is prevalent. Secondly, the male/female ratio can not permit the 'luxury' of four wives to the Muslim males unless three-fourths(75%) of them go without marriage. As per 1981 census the male/female ratio for Muslims was 1.068 and for Hindus 1.072 i.e for every 1000 Muslim females there are 1068 Muslim males. One has to conceive of gigantic mental acrobatics, in the light of these statistics, to believe that many a Muslim males can have four wives.

A slightly earlier but relevant statistics of polygamy (1961 census report) totally smashes the myth of Muslim polygamy, unless the social trends have worsened drastically, which obviously have not. As per this the incidence of polygamy is highest among the Adivasis(15.25) followed by Buddhists(7.9),Jains (6.72) Hindus (5.80) and behold, followed by Muslims(5.70). Research carried out by Mallika B.Mistry of Gokhle institute of Pune, concludes that "there is no evidence that the percentage of polygamous marriages(among Muslims)is larger than for Hindus". A comparison of nuptiality patterns for Hindus and Muslims shows great similarity, the incidence of polygamy has been declining among both Hindus and Muslims.

From the above it will be interesting to draw the religion based fertility patterns. These patterns differ within Muslim community itself, they vary from region to region as per the socio-economic and educational levels of the community concerned. Those in the better socio-economic and educational ladder have lesser population increase, while those on the lower rungs of socio-economic educational ladder have higher rate of population growth. This conforms to regional, urban and rural distribution as well. Birth rates in Malabar region of Kerala, whose Muslim population is 40% is significantly lower than those in Uttar Pradesh with a Muslim population of 15% . The contrasting case is that of Kashmir, a Muslim majority state. Here the Fertility rate of Hindus is almost twice that of Muslims. Here again the birth rate was lower 31.4(per thousand) than in U.P (36.5), MP 36.4, Bihar 34.8 and Rajasthan 33.4.

Can we bother to realise that the overall rate of population increase in educationally and socially advanced states like Kerala, Tamilnadu and Karnataka, is overall lower, both for Muslims and Hindus, compared to the rest of the country. Also let us have a look at Urban rural divide. More than one third of the Muslim community is concentrated in the peripheral and decaying areas of urban economic life. Incidence of urban poverty is higher among them by 17%(vis-a-vis Hindus). The number of Muslims living below poverty line is close to 45%. They are generally living in older areas of modern cities,

which are well known for poor sanitation, lack of health facilities and basic amenities. On the top of this the repeated outburst of communal violence against them is 'ghettoising' them with the result that improvement in their lot is becoming more and more difficult.

Overall one observes that there are multiple factors that determining the rate of population growth, religion being very low on the weightage scale, if at all it counts at all. Socio-economic betterment and education are the foremost factors helping in the control of population growth. Feeling of insecurity and poor socio-economic status counter the efforts to promote family planning, (nee, welfare, which is the term conveying the goals of this exercise more precisely), and these two factors transcend the religious factor by number of times. In such a complex scenario, the propaganda machine of the Sangh Parivar has done a 'remarkable job' by making '*Ham do, hamare do: Woh panch, unke pachees* (We (Hindus) practise two children norm, they (Muslims) practise four wives, twenty five children norm), a part of 'social common sense'. One has to 'complement' the Gobbelsian methods of Hindu right, which have concocted this offensive slogan which is far removed from the truth.

Thus far from being a pampered lot poor Muslims are the victims of overt and covert discrimination. Their social indices are very close to those of Dalits who in more ways than one have been the most discriminated lot in Indian society.

2) Christians :

Right during first century A.D. Christianity entered India through the trading ships from the West. Legend of St. Thomas has been associated with coming of Christianity to India, as he came twice on a mission to India. His second mission, for which there is stronger evidence was around 52 A.D. to Malabar Coast. He established a series of Syrian Churches along the coast.

The attacks on Christians has begun especially from last one year (1997-98). These attacks are being orchestrated by different organisations linked to SP and a general hysteria is being created against the Christian Missionaries in particular. During this year (1998-99) many a priests were humiliated (Fr. Christudas being paraded naked in Dumka), one of them being burnt alive along with his two sons aged 9 and 7, many a churches have been damaged in these attacks, Bibles have been burnt and nuns have been raped in interior places. This has occurred in the backdrop of anti-Christian propaganda as per which Christianity is a foreign religion, their missionary activities are a mere ploy for inducing people for conversions to adopt Christianity, their schools and Hospitals are mere tools for the same. This process is being planned by CIA, Pope and Christian agencies, who are out to Evangelise the whole country, where by Hindus will become a minority. Most of the inquiries by social activists, National Human Rights Commission, National Minorities Commission has shown that different organisations affiliated to SP are behind these attacks, and the attacks are taking place most in the BJP ruled states Gujrat, in particular.

Christian missionaries have been setting up Churches, seminaries and schools wherever and wherever possible. They learnt Indian Languages, set up printing presses and published religious as well as secular literature, to spread literacy and their faith. In the process they adopted Indian languages for their communication and native practices were adopted by the Church. Despite 2000 years of Christian presence, and 200 years of British rule the population of Christians in 1981 was 2.6 % which in 1991 stood at 2.4 %. Despite this the threat of 'their' population overtaking the Hindu population has begun only from one year or so. This anti-Christian bogey comes at a time when the anti-Muslim pogroms have more or less 'achieved' the target 'of permanently intimidating and ghettoising them. Also SP realises that if it has to break the electoral jinx to be able to come to power on its own it needs a newer vote bank and for this adivasis have been seen as the one's having best potential. There is also a growing realisation in SP that after conversion to Christianity the adivasis become more educated and aware of their rights, and this is a big threat to 'status quo' which is the basis of SP politics. These two factors seem to be the major one's in the current SP strategy of intimidating the missionaries with the aim that after this type of 'treatment' they will be reluctant to go to the remote places. And that will make the SP's job of wooing Adivasis to its fold comparatively easy.

Chapter 6

Conclusion: Combating Fascism

The core agenda of fascist movement is to suppress and suspend the rights of the oppressed. It is a social agenda of shaken, threatened middle class in the service of big bourgeoisie. It is a mass movement. Hindutva is the political agenda of petty industrialists, sections of middle classes and rich peasantry blessed by capital. Hindutva aims to create new ghettoised untouchables, the poor Muslims, a la the shudra of the olden times and keeping this goal in mind it wants to suppress/sidetrack the social and political aspirations of dalits, workers, minorities and women.

Last two decades have seen the intensification of communal politics. This is being spearheaded by Sangh Parivar (RSS,BJP,VHP,Bajrang Dal etc.).This fascistic communalism has been provided regular provocation's by Muslim communalism. In current times core support base of this onslaught is the neo prosperous middle class; petty industrialists, business groups, traders and rich peasantry. This section of society wants to impose pre-modern structural hierarchies (unchangeable social relations of inequality sanctioned by social norms-Feudal Lord-Serf, Bramin:Kshatriya:Vaishya-Shudra, Man-Woman cf: the fluid hierarchies of democratic society where these relations can be questioned and changed through struggles) laced in the language of Hindutva, Cultural Nationalism and the like. Their basic project is to continue their dominant social position vis-a-vis workers, dalits, women, minorities and adivasis. The democratic polity, by providing a liberal space gives an opportunity to these groups to struggle for their rights. This is something, which these middle classes find inimical to their social status. As we have seen above, the beginning of the Hindutva movement was an expression of the then declining classes of Feudal lords, Rajas of Riyasats (Princely states),Brahmins(Hindu clergy),Baniyas(Traditional business groups), the groups which again wanted to sustain the declining pre-modern norms of structural hierarchies. The politics of Hindutva provides the most refined way to impose the rigid hierarchies, and the semi secularised society becomes the fertile ground on which this poisonous weed can proliferate with gay abundance.

The strengthening of this onslaught especially in the aftermath of Mandal Commission implementation, the polarization of middle classes around SP is the expression of the existentialist anxieties of the middle classes. They have been the base of Fascist movements in Europe and other secularized societies, and base of Fundamentalist onslaughts in the semi and pre-secularized societies. The SP has in a way caught the society in a pincer. Even before access to total state power it has 'succeeded' in gripping the society by an all round attack through various aspects of social and political life: culture, education, media, bureaucracy, police and other arms of state power. Coming closer to and occasional occupation of seats of power at states and center has given it an added advantage; in the form of unrestricted abuse of democratic institutions of society and state.

It has changed the language of social discourse, and rights of oppressed and exploited, the real problems of society have been put on the backburner. The naked impositions of elite/upper caste culture is the mask under which the subjugation and exploitation of oppressed and exploited is being intensified and legitimized. In this direction the 'review'

of constitution is one more mechanism which will be activated at appropriate time. SP is a peculiar type of onslaught: it combines features of slow growing fascism with fundamentalist characteristics. Its base is the middle class. Like fascism it targets a particular community/ies, preferably one at a time to consolidate its aggression, projects the glorious past, aims at expanding empire (Akhand Bhatat), assigns to women the primary role of mothers/wives, exhorts workers to work for 'nation' (industrialists) and not to bother about their rights and dalits are straightjacketed through social engineering like Samajik Samanvay (social harmony). Like Fundamentalism it evokes religious imageries and the glorious rule of Hindu Kings, asserts the concept of Hindu Rashtra, is built around Ram, Geeta-Ramayan-Mahabharat, and Acharyas and Mahants. Both these phenomenon are basically against democracy and the accompanying liberal space.

The struggle against this onslaught is the function of multiple actions, campaigns and movements. Hindutva affects many sections of society. Its target group is not just the minorities, though one of them (Muslims) has been the major recipient of its wrath so far, and the other (Christian) is currently on the firing line. The other affected groups workers: unfortunately the bigger section of them are un-organised at the moment, while women and dalits are being subjugated in more subtle ways. Currently Pastor Martin Niemöller's poem (First they came for the Jews....) reflects the state of anti communal struggle. All the oppressed groups are battling it out in isolation from each other at different times, the result obviously is the uninterrupted march of the Trishuls (Tridents) of Hindutva.

With growth of autonomous movements each struggling sector is asserting itself through small attempts to work for, to wrest its rights. This is a non-hegemonic way of struggle of the oppressed. Unfortunately this has a potential of advancement in liberal atmosphere only, where these fragmented, isolated struggles and movements can stand on their own feet to march towards their goals.

Hindutva is succeeding in creating a social atmosphere, where it will be difficult for these struggles to be carried on. Already many a hurdles are cropping up in the march of these movements. These movements share anti-authoritarianism, which can be the basis of there coming together, to combat Hindutva, despite their seemingly diverse social agendas. The common platform which co-ordinates, without suppressing the aspirations of individual constituents, can aim against the Fascistic Hindutva and strengthen the secular, democratic rights of large sections of society. That alone can form the basis of secular, democratic ethos, which can stand up to the onslaught of Hindutva and in the long term show it, its place in the history, the dustbin.

The platform, which draws out the commonality of the oppression is not much in sight at present. The minimum common denominator (MCD) of these movements standing to oppose Hindutva is conspicuous by its absence. This MCD, Platform for Secular Democracy, Peoples Movement for Secularism, Anti-Fascist Front needs to be seriously given a thought and attempts made towards this direction. It is not to say that it is an easy task especially in the light of the fact that at surface level, at times, the agendas of most the constituent social movements look at odds with each other. The commendable efforts of different groups in this direction are a very valuable starting point. All the ways are to be thought for working towards this platform for Secular democracy.

- At popular level the ideas of SP have found a broad acceptability. They have 'successfully' misused history to spread hatred against the disadvantaged sections of society in general and minorities in particular. This needs to be countered by propagation of the rational history and the total picture of the 'facts' of the past.

Culture is one of the terrain's which not only is central to the Hindutva project (RSS : 'We are a cultural organisation') but the site which liberal, progressive and secular activists have not taken seriously so far. Culture *is* the battleground of politics in India today. Basically culture is a catalytic element, and expression of social life, which keeps humanity alive through multiform expressions. In the times of cultural onslaught by Hindutva, it is not sufficient to merely respond to the activities of Hindu right, but we have to be vigilant enough to pre-empt them through collective vigilance and strategies of defense. Surely secular struggles need many, changing, fluid platforms to make their intervention meaningful and positive. In all the strategies drawn as a component of secular struggles culture has to be central and most crucial element.

- Regular co-ordinated campaigns against SP's mauling of democratic norms needs to be undertaken at National and International level
- The struggles for the rights of exploited sections are the 'core' around which struggles for secular society(anti Fascist-anti-fundamentalist) can be built up. These are THE endeavors, which have the potential of taking the SP onslaught head on. More needs to be done to strengthen these RIGHTS groups.

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Post Script -I

Lust for Power and Play of Hidden Agenda Bharatiya Janata Party in the seat of Power.

Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) has been in power in the center first for thirteen days and then for thirteen months and then has been ruling as a care taker govt. since it was defeated in the house while winning a vote of confidence. BJP is the political arm of Sangh Parivar. Following the Babri Demolition and post demolition anti Muslim pogroms, the BJP governments were dismissed in five states and elections were held. Those elections saw the decline in the power of BJP. It kept projecting itself as the 'party with a difference'. As we have seen it *is* true as its basic agenda is that of Hindu Rashtra, an idea which is polar opposite of secular democratic India. Following these state assembly elections, later the general election for Lok Sabha took place (1996) which gave the truncated mandate and none of the parties emerged with absolute majority. This resulted in BJP emerging as the single largest party because of which the President invited them to form the govt.

Thirteen Days of BJP Rule: For the first time in the independent India BJP got the opportunity to grab the power at center in 1996. BJP accepted the Presidents invitation despite knowing that they do not command majority in the house. This 1996 election was fought by BJP on the plank of internal security, uniform civil code, Swadeshi, Ram Mandir at Ayodhya, corruption and Hindutva. It solicited votes in the name of Hindutva, propagating that Indian polity has deviated from Hindu Nationalism and that there is a need to bring it back to Hindutva. Before the elections, Mr. Atal Bihari Vajapayee, who was projected as the Prime Minister, stated that if they got less than 220 seats they will not form the govt. As per the results the BJP, Shiv sena, Akali Dal and Harayana Vikas Party combine got 195 seats. Deviating from its earlier proclamation of not forming govt. if they got less than 220 seats, BJP shamelessly staked the claim for forming the govt., as the single largest party (161 seats), more so it accepted the President's invitation even before consulting its election allies. During the period spanning from election results to being invited to form the govt. they went on making lot of false claims and also threatened of the consequences if they were not allowed to form the govt. During the thirteen days that this govt. was in power, it dumped its election manifesto in the bin and went on to give clearance to Enron project (which they were opposing on the grounds of swadeshi), in such a hurry that when they were clear that their Govt. is sure to fall, they convened an emergency Cabinet meeting during the lunch break of the Parliament debate, and gave the necessary clearance to the project to which they were totally opposed earlier. Before the trial of strength for winning the vote of confidence, some of them went on to give a threat of civil war if the govt. does not win the vote of confidence. But despite these threats the sound of falling rubbles of Babri Mosque and the cries of victims of 92-93 violence were too fresh in the ears of most of the MPs to think of supporting them.

Thirteen Months of BJP led Coalition: Following the issue of sacking of Admiral Bhagawat, Ms. Jayalalitha withdrew her support, once her demand for the inquiry into the episode was rejected. President asked the govt. to seek the vote of confidence in the house, BJP and its allies 'tried' their best to secure a majority by turning all the possible stones. But as they fell short by one vote, the govt. fell. In a 'clever' move, despite the fact that they fell because of the withdrawal of support of one of their allies, they put the 'blame' of fall of the govt. on the opposition and tried to put up a brave face as if the opposition has done a crime by voting against them! Rationality has been a major victim in the propaganda of BJP.

By the time of elections of 98, the memory of 92-93 faded in the minds of many a parties and they did strike a pre-poll alliance with BJP and regional parties like AIDMK, Trinamul congress (Mamata Bannerjee) Samata Party (George Fernandes) and many others joined hands with BJP. By now BJP had realised that it cannot come to power on its own and if it has to have 'alliances' with other parties, it will have to shelve its Hindutva agenda and take up secular issues. It campaigned on the plank of review of constitution through a duly appointed commission, Sarva Dharma Sambhav, riot free India, economic reforms, housing; bread and education, and appointment of National Defence commission for review of Nuclear policy.

The elections did not give decisive mandate to any single party. BJP was leading with 176 MPs, and it managed to garner around 24 % of votes. Despite being far away from the halfway mark it started claiming that it has got the mandate and should be invited to form the govt. as it is their right, being the single largest party. By keeping their proclaimed 'principles' in deep-freeze they some how managed to put together a bare majority and formed the govt., with the National agenda of governance. This agenda is in no way similar to the BJP manifesto.

Pokhran -II: National Glory or Shame:

Immediately on assuming the reigns of power the govt. started creating an atmosphere of hatred against the neighboring countries. The govt.'s loudest mouth advocate George Fernandes, serving BJP better than even the die hard BJP cadres, started the tirade against China by calling it 'Enemy no.1'. The outpourings against Pakistan which have been going on of and on, were intensified. In the backdrop of this atmosphere Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee on 11th May, 'proudly' made a pronouncement that India has exploded three nuclear devices in Pokhran, adding that this is a big achievement of our country's scientists. Just to remind, they had announced that National Security Council will review the security environment and then the decision about the nuclear policy will be taken. As if the P.M. was driven by some secret hurry, he took this first major decision in violation of their pre-election policy. On this occasion the P M wrote a letter to American President Bill Clinton (Why him? Why not UN Secretary General? Why not the heads of neighbouring states) explaining the reasons for the explosions. As per Bajpayee the security atmosphere in South Asia has worsened and that India had to face three major wars with Pakistan and had also to face Chinese aggression in 1962, so Nuclear Bomb is very important for India's security. Immediately

after this BJP's own 'Iron Man' Advani warned Pakistan that in the changed security atmosphere, India will be rethinking its Kashmir policy, and another top BJP leader went on to incite Pakistan for having a war.

A hysteria was created around National pride and achievement. BJP supporters danced on streets, distributed sweets, and congratulated the P M for his 'brave' deed, bringing national glory and pride. It was projected as if all the problems of the country have been solved because of the courage of the BJP govt. BJP's affiliates; Vishwa Hindu Parishad and Bajarng dal in their attempt to intensify the hysteria declared that they will be building 'Shakti Sthal' (Place of Power Worship), at Pokhran and that they will be spreading the Pokhran sand and earth to all the parts of country to spread the spiritual nationalism albeit by nuclearising it! Mercifully some sane elements prevailed and the epidemic of cancer was arrested at the right time. (Though this must have saddened the 'National spirit' of SP followers!). This was the time when hundreds died in Orissa due to lack of adequate and timely provisions to fight the ill effects of intense heat, as the mercury soared above 45⁰C in this area. This was precisely the time when hundreds of farmers were committing suicides in parts of Maharashtra and Karnataka, not able to bear the tremendous adverse economic pressures. But the govt. was too overwhelmed by its own 'achievements' to bother about the problems of the poor and deprived of the society.

India's nuclear explosions put tremendous pressure on the Pakistan and it was forced to 'match' India's nuclear prowess. In reply it exploded six nuclear devices. Pakistani explosions elicited similar response in Pakistan, the sections of middle class danced and distributed sweets. These explosions of Pakistan served another purposes in India. On one hand they punctured the balloon of hysterical nationalism and also brought Pakistan's strategic strength, which till that time was much lower on the traditional military scale, on par with that of India. The slinging match between two neighbors intensified till they were pulled up by the big uncle (America) and were advised to talk the language of peace. Also India's explosions reversed the trend of improvement of relations between the two countries. As a fall out of bilateral visits of heads of states the missiles, which were targeting Indian cities were withdrawn by China. After the Pokhran blasts they were temporarily restored targeting Indian cities. These blasts worsened the south Asian security environment, triggering an arms race in the subcontinent. The parity achieved by Pakistan because of its blasts was later to be used by it in 'walking in' into Kargil to occupy the peaks and a vast territory, when the Indian govt. was sleeping due to the delusions of grandeur induced by the Pokhran. The self-hypnosis induced by these blasts proved very expensive. In may 1999, an year after the blasts, the India govt. 'discovered' to its horror that Pakistani army has firmly entrenched itself in the huge areas of Kargil, forcing a war like situation and a huge loss of life and waste of precious resource in an unwarranted 'war like situation'. There are reports that govt. was made aware of the Pakistani infiltration into Kargil right since the Sept.-Oct. 1998 but due to reasons best known to itself it kept sleeping on the issue till its fall and the new elections were imminent.

Fascist-Fundamentalist type states attach a great amount of importance to the weapons of mass destruction. They harp upon military prowess as a matter of principle,

for healthy democracies defense expenditure is an unnecessary encumbrance a distraction from social well-being. But for these reactionary Nationalists to 'invest' (i.e. waste) in armaments and defense related expenditures is a matter of glory and pride. We must thank SP's VHP that they did not sow the epidemic of cancer by spreading Pokhran sand and earth all over the country, but any way their resolve to set up 'shakti sthal' will continue to be on their programme list, to serve the function of consolidating its elite - upper caste vote bank.

Then they came for Christians: BJP's 'cover-up' duties: Different wings of SP have been targeting a single community from last many decades. Because of the violence unleashed against Muslims, due to regularly unleashed 'communal - violence' the Muslim community has been physically and emotionally ghettoised. To sustain the fascist - communalism of SP, they required another 'enemy'. And SP selected Christians for this 'coveted' status. After BJP's, coming into power at center, the job of VHP and Bajrang Dal became far more easy as now they got a blanket protection and umbrella which would not let the reaction of their crimes hit them back. Anti-Christian propaganda reached its peak; Christianity is a foreign religion, CIA and Pope are planning to evangelise the whole country, the missionary activity is a mere cover up for their conversion activities, missionaries are promoting insurgency in North East, that conversions also tantamount to change of Nationality, and that poor adivasis are being converted by force into Christianity. In the din of all this propaganda, anti-Christian violence began and was intensified over a period of time, more so in Gujarat and Maharashtra, states where BJP and BJP-Sena govt. are in the saddle. In Latur CHAI camp was attacked, Sister Rani Maria was hacked death in Indore, father Christudas was paraded naked in Dumka, Ishu festival was attacked and Bibles were burnt in Gujarat. In response to the rape of nuns in Jhabua (M.P.) one BJP leader (B.L. Sharma 'Prem') went on to say that this is an act of Patriotism, as the local people are reacting to the acts of conversions of these nuns.

It is difficult to recount all the incidences in Gujarat for the shortage of space. What is worth noting here is that in the midst of all these violations of minority rights, human rights with the patronage of state govt. machinery, the Prime Minister Mr. Bajpayee visited Gujarat and in a 'cover-up operation' stated that everything (law & order and all that) is fine in Gujarat and state govt. is doing a good job (yes really!) and further as a dedicated soldier of RSS he went on to demand a national debate on conversions. In Keonjhar (Orissa) Fr. Graham Stewart Stains was burnt along with his two sons, when he was sleeping in a jeep, by Bajrang Dal's Dara Singh (Jan 99). Outlook dated 5th July 99 while reporting on the report submission of Justice Wadhawa, gives the gist of and glimpses of Wadhawa commission report. This report contrary to the assertions of SP leaders that Dara Singh had nothing to do with Bajrang Dal and infact he was a Congress worker (Mr. Advani the Home Minister went on to say that he knows the Bajrang Dal very well and that there are no criminal elements in BD!), establishes the firm links of Dara Singh with SP. He used to attend RSS camps, used to campaign for BJP candidates and was very active in Ban cow slaughter campaign of VHP. The team sent by the central cabinet, comprising of 3 cabinet ministers, after one day of 'investigation' they came to

the profound conclusion that murder of Fr. Stains was a part of international conspiracy and it had nothing to do with SP. One Leader of VHP (Mr. Ashok Chowgule) stated that murder of Fr. Stains was a spontaneous act of the angry 'Vanavasis' who were disturbed by the forcible conversions done by Fr. Stains, who also used to feed them with mutton and used the inducement of 'drinks' for this purpose. On the other hand, the widow of Fr. Stains, Gladys forgave the culprits and resolved to serve leprosy patients, to continue the work, which her husband was doing. She said that her husband was not involved with any conversions.

Meanwhile the BJP govt. of Delhi derecognised the Churches as places of worship and gave the permits for liquor shops to be opened near the churches. There 'logic' (or the lack of it!) was that since wine is used in the churches for Baptism, how can churches be called as places of worship! (Incidentally only a drop of wine is used in Baptism ceremony) Fortunately better counsels prevailed and they rescinded their orders under popular pressure.

BJP's being in power is the central govt. was a real boon to the SP, as at most crucial times, BJP govt. did a 'wonderful' cover up job for the acts of commission of its 'brother' organisation;s (BD, VHP and the like). It is really a 'genius' act on the part of SP that it could 'successfully' raise the issue of forced conversions against Christian missionaries even at a time when the percentage of christian population has been going down as per the census data. (1981 - 2.6% , 1991 - 2.4%). One has to complement the propaganda machinery of the SP which can construct its whole campaign on the falsehood and then go on to create an atmosphere of hatred against particular section of society and this atmosphere in turn is the ground on which the communal violence stands.

Politics of Places of Worship: One of the shrewd maneuvers of SP has been to create controversies around the places of worship, to create mass hysteria around it and to consolidate its vote bank around that. SP has 'tasted' the 'fruits' of its crimes (eg. Babri demolition) by a quantum leap in its vote bank. Continuing on the track, without bothering to wait for the Supreme Court judgement VHP has been continuing on the construction of Ram Temple at Ayodhya. The stone carving work for the temple is in progress. Anyway SP does not believe in the Indian constitution, so what if the Supreme Court decision goes against it, it can always plan a second kar seva to build an illegal temple! It is with this 'confidence' that SP is continuing to work for the stone carving for the temple.

Indian culture has been plural and multi - ethnic. Saints belonging to Bhakti and Sufi have brought together the people, cutting across the religious lines. It is precisely due to this that we see temples and dargahas abutting each other. Many of these are frequented by people of different religions. This is something which is totally unacceptable to the SP, and so wherever possible they are trying to convert dargah's into temples. They have been trying to install Hindu idols in dargahs, and celebrate Hindu festivals there. Near Mumbai, in Kalyan they have been trying to convert Haji Malang into Malang Gadh, and one Durgadi Fort into Durga Temple. To spread communal venom in south SP has been trying its 'best'. In Karanataka, near Banglore, they have

been asserting that Baba Budan Giri Dargah is in fact a Hindu Temple Dattatrya Peetham. This is an attempt to make an Ayodhya type agitation in South to convert this dargah in to a Hindu temple. The response from local people was very poor, so they brought the volunteers from northern cities to undertake the campaign. The issue is not yet resolved and there is a fear that VHP may resume this agitation at the 'appropriate' time, till that time the issue will be hanging on society's head like a Damocles' sword.

Hindusing Education : Teaching of history has played a strong role in communalisation of society. SP realises it deeply and it is precisely for this that in its shakha Baudhiks (intellectual sessions) they present the history in a way, which intensifies the existing communal tensions. In the RSS run Saraswati Shishu Mandirs and Vidya Bharati, Brahminical norms are introduced along with communal version of history. The states in which BJP govts. Have come to power, the history books have been heavily communalised. Also RSS is being projected as THE 'nation building' organisation. In one of the UP text book, which devotes 20 pages on India's freedom struggle, 3 pages are devoted to the 'achievements' of Dr. K.B. Hedgwar, the founder sarsangh chalak & supreme dictator, of RSS who did not participate in freedom struggles (barring, for a brief while in non-cooperation movement in 1930 for which he was jailed for one day)

After BJP led coalition came to power, the ministry of Human Resource Development, which includes dept. of education, was given to Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi, an extremist Hindutva supporter. He has put together RSS sympathetic historians, who are busy rewriting the history from Hindu communal angle. Also in the reorganisation of ICHR (Indian Council of Historical Research) he has ensured that most of the members are pro-RSS. BJP openly presented its agenda in the education ministers conference Oct 22-24 . The meeting was to begin with Saraswati Vandana, but some ministers objected to it so it had to be shelved. In the preparatory note for the meeting one note on education system by non-official person was appended. One big Calcutta businessman, Mr. Chitalangia who happens to be RSS man and runs a chain of schools on RSS model, prepared this note. He was invited to address the education ministers! The proposals presented in the note aimed to 'Nationalise, Indianise and Spiritulise' the education system. As such the aim is to Hinduise, Brahminise the system: it proposes to make learning of Sanskrit compulsory, and wants to introduce household management for girls. We are 'lucky' that for time being this direct threat of Hinduisation of education has been thwarted. But what may be in store for us if BJP comes to power has become a bit obvious to us. We should note in passing that in UP with the BJP govt at the helm, 'Vande Mataram' has become compulsory, and in schools the children have to say Vande Matram instead of 'present sir' or 'yes sir'.

The major component of education policy is to gradually introduce the faith based knowledge systems, in place of the reason based systems. In this direction the introduction of the courses on Astrology, Karmakanda (Hindu rituals) have dangerous portent. They negate the very rational basis of modern education.

Kargil: Kashmir and 'War like' situation: This 'acting' govt. suddenly 'discovered' that terrorists and Pakistani army have occupied a large chunk of Kargil area (May 99) and it put into action the air force and army to drive away those who have crossed onto our side of Line of actual control. It is for the first time in Independent India that the neighboring

country has occupied a large chunk of the territory. Somehow this party, and those belonging to their ideology of Hindu Rashtra, never were part of freedom struggle, and now they beat their breasts the loudest in proclaiming patriotism and nationalism. It is under their regime that Pakistan supported militants could occupy/make bunkers etc on Indian side of LoC. This govt. kept saying that China is our enemy no.1, it could see the arms stockpile in Diego Garcia, but it could not see the violation of LoC. During this the failure of its nuclear policy has been validated as they kept proclaiming that Nuclear weapons are the best deterrent. But as we have seen it is only after the Pokhran and Chagai (Pakistani Blasts) that Pakistan could violate the LoC. In this atmosphere RSS & VHP has made the insane demand for using nuclear weapons against Pakistan in this 'war like situation'. Nothing could be more irresponsible as the consequences of using Nuclear weapons in this episode, which will tantamount to a sure decimation of large number of people in both countries.

Reviewing Constitution: One of the major decisions of the BJP led coalition has been to appoint a commission to review the Constitution. This is to fulfil their aspiration of bringing in Hindu Rashtra, which is antithetical to the present values of our constitution. With the rise of the power of RSS and its affiliates our Indian constitution has come under different types of criticisms. In one of the major congregations of the V.H.P.'s Sants and Mahants, who are the guiding lights of a VHP a *quasi-religious* outfit, a resolution was passed in its Dharma Sansad (Religious Parliament). This resolution said that Indian Constitution is an anti-Hindu constitution and so it should be done away with and be substituted by the one based on the Hindu holy books. Similarly the RSS chief Mr. Sudarshan has given the call to abolish the present Constitution and to replace it by the one based on Hindu holy scriptures. As per some news paper reports VHP has recommended that the universal adult franchise should be scrapped and the power of voting should be restricted only to the educated people, teachers and the Hindu Holy seers. They should also be the one's who should not only elect the parliament but should also constitute the law making and implementing bodies. Normally such opinions should be ignored and forgotten but in this case as this organisation is the associate of the major political party B.J.P., which is leading the coalition at the center, it can not be taken lightly.

Indian constitution was formulated by the constituent assembly which was representative of the people and its drafting was a careful effort aimed at incorporating the most enlightened aspects of most of the world Constitutions. It had to ensure laying down of the principles of welfarism in the same. Its emphasis was on the democratic principles and it took in to consideration the plural and diverse nature of Indian society. Its first major achievement was to introduce the Universal adult franchise, the basis of the democratic norms. In most of the fundamentalist countries, the franchise is restricted based on the interests of the ruling. BJP as a part of 'clever' long term planning has initiated this move to abolish the democratic norms and to substitute them with the Pre-Modern hierarchical values. The review committee has submitted the report though it does not fulfill the goals of RSS in any way a way has been paved for the future reviews and modification as per RSS needs, as and when the suitable time comes.

Maneuvering Consent: BJP has come to occupy the seat of power by leading a motley coalition of number of parties. The coalition partners in their lust for power have forgotten the communal role of BJP and are playing in its hand. While the coalition partners are busy making the opportunist hay the BJP is pursuing its long-term agenda in a very subtle manner. It is also providing a cover to the activities of its family members, VHP, Bajrang Dal and others. Its parent organization RSS is also being conferred lot of credibility. As seen above it is infiltrating the cultural, educational and social space. Due to the compulsions of coalition politics it has kept its Hindutva agenda on the backburner. It is evasive about the core agenda, which earlier brought it to power, the Ram Temple; abolition of Article 370 and Uniform civil code in the previous two elections. Now its dilemma is that despite being in power earlier twice its voting percentage has come down by two percent. The elite vote bank cannot be consolidated further. To expand it, one of the strategies it is adopting is to try to infiltrate in the Adivasi areas and also to offer the olive branch to Muslims by calling them 'blood of our blood and flesh of our flesh. For pursuit of the first goal it has initiated the anti-Christian campaign as it is mainly Christian missionaries who have been doing the reform work amongst the Adivasis. For the latter they have initiated the process to win over some of the opportunist elements from amongst ambitious elite Muslims. Still it is doubtful if their efforts can succeed but due to the opportunism of the coalition partners and the weakness of the Congress and other opposition they are sailing without much trouble at the moment.

Godhra-Gujarat and the changing electoral equations:

Towards the end of 2001 and it became clear that the VHP campaigns around Ram temple issue would not be drawing good response from the average people. In most of the elections held from this time on, BJP started loosing heavily in the electoral arena. It lost Gram panchayat elections in Gujarat and the assembly elections in four northern states. It is in this backdrop that one examines the Godhra tragedy. The forensic report pointed out that the fire started within the compartment only. Even before the investigations could take place, The Gujarat CM Mr. Narendra Modi stated that the Godhra tragedy is the handiwork of International terrorism, ISI through the local Muslims. He also paved the way for naked death dance on the streets by ensuring that police does not do anything positive to prevent the outbreak of riots and later to control them effectively. It became clear that different progenies of Sangh Parivar had been preparing for this carnage from last many a months. One needs to connect this up with the failure of Sangh Parivar to draw more support for Ram temple, and its electoral defeats in the preceding periods. One is clear by now that the communal violence polarizes the Hindu voters around the BJP in the aftermath of riots. Accordingly Modi is keen to hold the elections as soon as possible to en-cash on the post violence communal polarization.

Post Script- II

RSS reasserts its Philosophy:

RSS completed 75 years of its existence in Oct. 2000. It took this opportunity to reassert its basic premises. Since the new supremo has taken over he has brought to fore the basic goals and philosophy of RSS. After long years of its quiet work, now it is getting massive projection, thanks to its progeny being in the seat of power. Also it has started various programs to inform people about itself. At this juncture it does face a dilemma that though there is a huge expansion, the fresh recruitment in its Shakhas is dropping down. There is an expansion of the subsidiary organizations the members of which have not gone through the indoctrination in its pedagogical schools. Despite that now since its swayamsevakas are deeply entrenched in different fields of life they are growing more assertive at political level.

The ideology enunciated by Mr. Sudarshan reiterates the basic premises of this organization. As per this there will shortly be an epic battle between Hindus and anti-Hindus after which, Hindutva will be the exclusive guiding principle of the nation. Already attempts are underway to undermine the Secular democratic constitution. The minorities are being given multiple dictates like they should identify with Hindu gods-Ram and Krishna in order to join the 'mainstream' of the country. They are also advised to use the suffix Hindu after their religion to show that Hinduism is not just a religion but is a culture. Also Christians in particular should break their religious links with their churches, which are located in Vatican etc. and form 'Swedish' churches. There was a demand to throw away the 'foreign' missionaries. As far as Muslims are concerned a double strategy is in operation on one hand to seek their votes suddenly BJP has realized that Muslims are 'blood of our blood and flesh of our flesh', while RSS with bigger gusto is projecting the ISI agent image of Muslims and VHP regularly comes out with its fresh 'demolition' list which includes more and more mosques etc. Overall BJP's grabbing the power at the center is being celebrated by the parivar with fanfare.

At the same time the secular reaction is growing stronger by the day. BJP rule has exposed their hollow claims that they are a 'party with a difference'. They are also as much for power grabbing, factionalism and corruption as any other electoral outfit may be. The average people are realizing the dangers of the 'Non-Indian' character of the RSS and its family. The SP had not been a part of freedom struggle, does not respect Indian Constitution, and does not subscribe to the values of pluralism and multiculturalism, which emerged from the process of building of the Indian Nation.

OH YOU HINDU AWAKE!

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QIRTAS

OH! YOU!! HINDU AWAKE!

WRITTEN BY

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Warning

This book is not meant for decorating your bookshelf, but for circulation among
others as fast as you can so
that we can save our MOTHERINDIA

REVISED EDITION

REPRINTED IN 1987

DEDICATION

[N MEMORY OF THE LATE

PERIYAR E.V. RAMASAMI

FOREWORD

To write a foreword to “Oh”! You Hindu!! Awake!!!, I accepted this offer with shock and surprise. Remember this is not an ordinary book. My blood started boiling as I read it for the first time. Anybody reading this book with an unbiased mind will certainly agree with the facts and figures given in this booklet. Since I didn’t believe this book as it is at first. I asked for the video cassettes and books mentioned at the end. To my great surprise, as a Hindu, I don’t know what to write further. Whenever anything is written on Hinduism, it is hidden from the public because of the power and media they have.

The ruling master race of India has done unbelievable damages to India, which no sincere Indian will ever condone. How they position the young Indian minds with hatred through their powerful media? Finally who gains at the end? The only master race. How they divide India? To name a few: RSS and its allies with full fledged military type of training to murder another Indian who is the real son of the soil!

Untouchability, apartheid and caste system to divide India into pieces! As a result they are in power since independence!

In literacy, wealth, political power, control of the media and more, they have proved they are the master race (Now we know why they have kicked out the British!)

What have their books and religions taught us? How many Gods have we? Who are our Gods? Can you believe Ramayana & Mahabaratha? What are they telling about our Godly men viz. Rama, Sita, Shiva Parvathi, Brahma, Ganesh & Krishna? Can one not see the pornography and incest in them? I would not read it to my mother, daughter or sister! Can you? What if a foreigner asks us what is Lingam and Yoni? How about Shankaracharya, Rajaneesh, Sai Baba, Maharishis, Dharendra Brahmachari and Proof Chinmayananda? What are our Puranas and Veda telling? Our claims about Viboothi, sun worshiping, urine drinking and other blind faiths tell us how ignorant we are. How do we treat our Indian women? But we laugh at the treatment of women in other religions. What hypocrites we are? How dare a rich go inside the temple with special respect even if he is an illicit liquor dealer or smuggler while thousands of people are waiting in the queue?

Also religion is a “man to God” and “man to man” relationship. But to reach God, treating the! Fellow human beings with love, justice and equal right is the best way. Most of the religions are preaching the same way.

Unfortunately only Hinduism which was originated by the Brahmins is preaching that to reach God you must not love your fellow human being, you should not treat him with justice and you should not treat him with equal rights and humanity. On the

other hand it teaches the high caste Brahmin how to enslave him, cheat him and fool him in the name of Hinduism. With this technique only today 2% Brahmins are ruling 89% of India's population.

Do you think the master race will change itself? Impossible. Why? Because they will break into pieces if YOU know the real truth! You and I cannot change our MOTHERLAND overnight But let us do something that we can.

–DR. GUPTASRIVATSA, M.A., Ph.D. (LONDON’)

ATTENTION:

All Arguments have been supported with full proof for which we have listed the names of the books their Publishers and Addresses have been given at the end.

We appreciate your valuable criticism and suggestion to the news media for our revised editions.

OPEN GURANTEEE

There is no copyright for this Publication, it can be Translated, Photocopied, Republished, Reprinted and sold without Prior Permission.

TO YOU!

If you are a Hindu, judge yourself and circulate the contents if they are found true.

I you are a Christian or Muslim or Jain or Sikh, Circulate this material as much as you can.

As you are a true citizen of India, If you fail in your duty, one day your children and grandchildren will suffer because of your failure to correct these corrupt practices.

THE GREAT ENGLISH PHILOSOPHER EDMUND BURKE SAID:

“SILENT SPECTATORS ARE DANGEROUS”

SAVE OUR MOTHER INDIA

We love India our Homeland and have no hatred against any one. We want to be friendly with every one. As an Indian we want to help and save our MOTHER INDIA from its troubles and to promote peaceful harmony among its peace loving citizens. Bearing that in mind this book has been written. All humanity is the creation of God and a God will not do any discrimination to his creations such as white, black, high, low, rich, poor and so on. God will be always with the right principles and naturally won't support the aggressor over the weaker. Also God will always sympathize with the victim who has been punished for no reason. No man can reach God by harming, enslaving, fooling and cheating other fellow human in the name of religion. DO YOU AGREE TO THIS? IF SO JUDGE FOR YOURSELF WHETHER THE FOLLOWING CLAIMS ARE TRUE OR FALSE?

The purpose of this book is not to attack any religion. But we tried to expose the betrayal of truth and treachery to human dignity in the name of religion.

There are many religions in India. Followers of each religion should respect other faiths. Regrettably, the higher caste Brahmins who sowed the seeds of hatred in the minds of Hindu against other faiths, have created a lot of problems disturbing the peaceful lives not only of Christians and Muslims, but of the own low-caste Hindu brethren.

On the other hand, the Hindus, particularly the Brahmins who are behind communal disturbances in India affecting lower caste Hindus, Christians and Muslims are perhaps not aware of the fact that their Hindu brethren are all receiving kindness and hospitality in the Christian West and Muslim Middle East.

The Brahmins and Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh (R.S.S.) claim that 600 churches (including Mandaikkadu, Neelakkal) and 500 mosques (including Babri Masjid) were once Hindu temples is quite untrue.

Brahmins/RSS criticize other religions without first having examined their own religion. Hence we are FORCED to write this booklet with the intention of bringing some facts about the Brahmins/R.S.S. to light.

Let us analyze and see whether the Brahminism (Hinduism) satisfies the human nature and whether it is based on justice, love, humanity and equal rights.

FUTURE SHOCK!

My dear fellow citizen of India. I am sure when you complete this small booklet, you will get not only a great surprise but also SHOCK because of the unassailable evidences that we have gathered and given to you from the Brahmin originated Holy books.

OPEN CHALLENGE

WE INVITE BRAHMINS TO CHALLENGE THE CONTENTS OF THIS BOOK IN PUBLIC OR IN THE NEWS PAPER OR ANY MEDIA THEY FEEL CONVENIENT. IF WE HAVE NOT HEARD ANY COMMENTS ON THIS BOOK. THEN THE READER WILL KNOW THE TRUTH.

ARE YOU A HINDU?

If you say “ YES “, then

Have you ever really read the Vedas, Upanishads, Smritis and Puranas (Ramayana and Mahabharata)?

Your answer most probably will be: “NO “.

A recent Delhi University survey says not even ONE in a THOUSAND has ever read any of these books. If any Hindu ever reads them, he will never be an enemy to any other religion. Remember, this is a “FACT”.

Hindu mentality is such, that it usually accepts anything without questioning its

authenticity. The reason is, for several centuries the higher caste Brahmin has been teaching that the lower caste Hindu has no right to question, any discrepancies in Hindu beliefs and mythology.

Have you read today's newspaper? If yes, you would have noticed that it was full of news about violence all over India.

In one place the high caste (Brahmin) is holding the lower caste Hindu in bondage. In another place Hindu-Christian communal violence, in other places, Hindus and Muslims plan up on trivial matters, and Hindu and Sikhs are at each other's throats.

Have you ever thought why all these disturbances happen who is instigating this? The answer should be very simple, if you think and probe. The organizers are Done other than the so-called Aryans. Who are the Aryans? The self -proclaimed "master race" or earth to which Hitler belonged. Who are the Aryans in India?

They are the high caste Brahmins / Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sang (RSS) and their allies.

THE HIGH CAST TERRORISTS OF INDIA ARE BRAHMINS

Let us NOW reason together.

CHAPTER II

ARYANS – BRAHMINS – RAHSTRIYA SWAYAM SEWAK SANG (R S S)

The MANU SMRITI (BIBLE OF HINDUISM) says:

- A) A Brahmin is born to fulfill Dharma. Whatever exists in the world is the property of the Brahmin. On account of the excellence of his origin, he is entitled to all. The Brahmin eats but his own food, wears but his own clothes. All mortals subsist through the benevolence of the Brahmin.
- B) Ignorant or learned, A Brahmin is still a great deity. To Brahmin, THE THREE WORLDS AND THE God'S OWE THEIR EXISTENCE.

Dr. Ambedkar says the cardinal principles of Brahminism are six:

- 1. Graded inequality between the different classes.
- 2. Complete disarmament of Shudras and the untouchables.
- 3. Complete prohibition of education of the Shudras and the untouchables.
- 4. Ban on the Shudras and the untouchables occupying places of power and authority.
- 5. Ban on the Shudras and the untouchables acquiring property.
- 6. Complete subjugation and suppression of women.

“Inequality is therefore the official doctrine of BRAHMINISM” (IBID–204)

Devadhinam jagat sarvam

Mantradinam ta devata

Tam Mantram Brahmandhinam

Brahmana nam devata

Meaning:

The Universe is under the power of Gods.

The Gods are under the power of the mantras.

The mantras are under the power of the Brahmins.

Therefore the Brahmins are our Gods.

Abbe J.A. Dubois's, "Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies", Oxford. Third Edition 1906, Page 139.

Also Manu-VII, 137:

"Let the king after rising early in the morning worship Brahmans who are well versed in the three-fold sacred sciences and learned in policy and accept their advice".

Again Manu — XI, 85:

"Brahman is the root of sacred law. By his origin alone he is a deity EVEN FOR THE Gods and his word is authoritative for men".

ARE THE BRAHMINS SONS OF INDIAN SOIL?

No! They are invaders like the British and the Moghuls who entered India via Khyber Pass to plunder its riches.

How clever are they when compared to the so – called low caste Hindus? They are cleverer than the Jews. Why? Because the Jews with all their brain and might have yet

not settled. But the Brahmins who came from Central Asia are dividing and ruling India without anyone noticing them.

The British have left India. But the higher caste Brahmin is still following the British policy of “divide and rule”, creating barriers of caste and creed. They have carved a niche for themselves in India. At whose cost? At the cost of the poor, half clothed starving lower caste Hindus.

NOT ALL BRAHMINS ARE TO BE BLAMED. THERE WERE AND ARE EXCEPTIONS. SOME WERE AND ARE MAHATHMAS.

But the vast majority of them are always bent upon instigating and dividing Indians and consequently bringing untold misery, hardship and suffering to the innocent and poor lower cast Hindus and others and thereby further economically downgrading them.

E.g. Havell writes in his ARYAN RULE IN INDIA (Page: 148):

Already in Asoka's time the Brahmans had probably CAPTURED the whole machinery of the SANGHA as effectually as in modern times they have controlled the inner working of British Departmental machinery.

These invaders branded the original sons of India as SHUDRA and ruling them in the name of their religion.

BRANCHES OF FANATICS

RA.SHTRIYA SWAYAM SEWAK SANGH (RS.S.)

VISWA HINDU PARISHAD

HINDU MUNNANI

A.RYA SAMAJ

SIVA SENA

BHARATIYA JAINATA PARISHAD

PROVINCIAL ARMED CONSTABULARY (PAC)

This is one of the RSS Militant Police working under the banner of Indian Police Force made of only high caste Hindus. So far not even a single non –Hindu member has been recruited to this group which is getting a high pay (more than other police forces) and facilities from the Government of India.

Mr. Khushwant Singh has the following to say in “HINDUSTAN TIMES” on this subject:

“it is no longer any secret that the loss of life in both Delhi and Meerut was predominantly Muslim and the majority of victims were killed by bullets, fired by the police and the Provincial Armed constabulary. Our Government controlled media tried to camouflage this ugly truth.”

Dr. Subramaniam Swamy, General Secretary Lok Dal (A) also conveyed the same view and went on fasting demanding a Central Inquiry of the “STATE — SPONSORED GENOCIDE’, of Muslims of Hashimpura in Meerut May last. Dr. Swamy says that the innocent people of Maliana village have ruthlessly gunned down. One finds himself

unable to draw a line of distinction between the British India and Independent India. The onslaught that took place in Maliana is no less than the massacre of Jallian-wala Bagh. The brutality of PAC is no less than the brutality of General Dyer. The incidents which are beyond imagination in democratic country have resulted into bare facts.

(Our condolences to the families of unfortunate victims. Chatterjee).

LEADERS OF FANATIC GROUPS

PALRAJ MATHOKKER

BAL THACKERAY

A.B. VAJPAYEE

RAMNATH GOYANGA

BALA SHAIB DEVARAS

L.K. ADVANI

PROF. BALRAJ MADHOK

MANIAN – EDITOR IDAYAM

R.M. VEERAPAN – EX TAMILNADU MINISTER

VARIYAR – VISHWA HINDU PARISHAD

RAMA GOPALAN

THARMALINGA NADAR

CHO RAMASAMY

BRAHMIN MEANS ONE WHO DIVIDES & RULES!

BRAHMIN – CASTE SYSTEM & UNTOUCHABILITY

Gita preaches (IV —39–40) Karma theory. Krishna tells us in the Gita that he is the author of the caste system (Gita 4–13, 10–36, 41). The Upanishads have also sanctioned the caste system those who are of pleasant conduct here – the prospect is, indeed, they will enter a pleasant womb, either the womb of a Brahmin, or the womb of a Kshatriya, or the womb of a Vaishya. But those who are of stinking conduct here – the prospect is indeed, that they will enter a stinking womb, either the womb of a dog or the womb of a swine or the womb of an outcaste (Shudra)”. (Chandogya Upanishad —5–10–7).

These Brahmins have created untouchability among Indians so that they can easily divide and rule over India and they have succeeded in it.

“CASTE INSULTS” HARD TO PUNISH!

Times of India says (30–8–87) that the commission on scheduled castes and tribes, in its sixth report placed before Parliament has pointed out that the home ministry objective of July 1978 to remove UNTOUCHABILITY in five years has remained “illusive”. It continues that the most of the cases are discharged because of failure to relate “insults” or “attempts to insult” to untouchability. Because of the mandatory provision of imprisonment of at least one month if the offence is established, even the trial court appear to hesitate in pronouncing anyone guilty and so on.

WHAT IS THE DUTY OF THE SHUDRA?

The Gita (18–44) says : “Service is the duty of Shudra”

The laws of the Maanu (1–91) say “The Lord Prescribed the Shudra, to serve meekly ever these three (other) castes”. Also The King himself must order the Shudra to serve the twice born castes (Brahmin) (Manu 8/10).

To server Brahmins is the highest duty’ of the Shudra.

There cannot be a greater anti – socialist philosophy than Brahminism.

If the vast majority of Shudras and particularly the untouchables today appear lifeless, spiritless, hopeless and thoroughly emasculated, it is because of this Brahmin law.

To get a strong foothold in India, the Brahmin divided the sons of India into different castes and creeds A Brahmin is huge monster who devours the lower caste Hindu. How bad is this system?

According to a recent government survey there are more than 2,000 castes in India. Is it not shameful? It means each caste can claim superiority over the other, a man from one caste will not marry a girl of another cast, and no two castes congregate together and so on.

How will the people of India unify when this inhuman unfair and unequal caste system prevails? India is a unique mode in the world when it comes to racial discrimination.

The death toll in caste war and violence is much higher their in Hindu– Christian, Hindu –Muslim communal violences.

The low caste welfare Minister Mrs. Rajendra Kumar Bajpai read out a report during a parliament session on 7-11-86 as follows:

From Jan 1986 till June 1986:

Murder of low caste people by High caste Hindu 337

Raping of low caste Hindu women 511

Recorded atrocities to the low caste by the high caste Hindu 9347

BONDED LABOR

Brahminism and Vedas have paved the way for Bonded Labor System in India, which is the creation of caste system. Even after 40 years of independence, still we couldn't give the low caste Shudras from this bondage devil.

The Time of India reported on 10th May 1987 that Swami Agnivesh, President of the Bonded Labor Liberation Front, said that more than 20,000 people mostly Harijans and Advaitis were still being exploited and were leading the life of slaves in West Champaran and Gopalganj districts of North Bihar which he proved to the Government with unassailable evidence.

Why do the high caste Brahmins instigate and provoke the innocent Hindus (other castes) to direct enmity and violence against peace loving Christians and Muslims? To keep themselves in power and rule over the majority of Hindus who belong to the Shudra (the so called) low castes. The evil consequences of this wicked design are then dumped at the doors of other minorities like Christians and Muslims and Sikhs.

Who made the Brahmin the high caste? The Puranas and Vedas say that the Brahmins were created by Brahma from big head and therefore they have the right to belong to that group. To they are people of high caste. Well, it sounds very logical convincing and acceptable but, who wrote the Puranas and Vedas? There any proof or authenticity as to their Origin? Or did it come from high above? It would be very interesting if you take little trouble to find out who was in fact behind these books and what was their motive in writing them?

We are living in the 20th century where science and technology has advanced unprecedently. However, in some parts of India, even today a low caste Hindu cannot pass on a street from the end to the other end without first having his chappals removed and placed on his head.

Hotels and other eating places maintain separate cuttlery for low caste Hindus.

The first Indian Governor General and Ex- Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu Mr. Rajagopalchari alias Rajaji (Brahmin) advocated that people should pass down through generations the professions of their fathers and forefathers in order to reduce unemployment. This suggestion was highly praised by many newspapers owned by Brahmins / RSS. What is the reasoning behind this advocacy? Think' Supposing your father was a barber or a cobbler you will be required to carry out the same profession. Of course, the self proclaimed, high caste Brahmin with his blue blood will always come out on the top even if he is unfit to be a sweeper.

In his book "History of Tamils", Prof. P.T. Srinivasa Iyenger explains Vedas in more

detail. Accordingly the High caste Brahmins are supposed to go nearer to the God statue and can be a priest. If a Shatria (slightly lower caste than Brahmins) goes nearer to the statue of any God, it is a bad omen to the status and the remedies are as follows:

Brahmin (High caste).. You can do anything.

Remedies

Shatria 7 pots of water to clean the statue.

Vysia 24 pots of water + Shanti Homam to be conducted

Sutra the lowest caste 108 pots of water + Maha Shanti Homam + FOOD TO BRAHMINS.

WHO BUILT THE TEMPLES?

Only SHUDRAS (Harijans) have built all the temples all over India. These Brahmins never carried a stone or brick on their shoulder or head. Till he completes the constructions of the temple, a Shudras hard work is required. But once the work completed these Brahmins branded these workers as Shudras and after that they cannot even enter the temple and devised for the above mentioned remedies and punishments, if they go nearer to the God statues in the temple.

According to the Puranas, to become a King or Administrator one should be Brahmin. To become a Brahmin, one must take 4 births. But now many low caste people are Chief Minister without the 4 birth? This itself shows these Puranas are the "false

books” created by the Brahmins to fool you.

The following Chief Ministers were non– Brahmins and they ruled Tamil Nadu for a long period in an efficient way and proved the BRAHMIN originated VEDAS and PURANAS fairy tales:

1. Mr. Kamraj
2. Mr. C.N. Annadurai
3. Dr. M. Karunanithi

DO YOU BELIEVE THAT ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE WESTERN AND MIDDLE EAST COUNTRIES HAVE TAKEN ALL THE THREE BIRTHS (ACCORDING TO PURANAS AND VEDAS) AND TODAY THEY ARE ALL TREATED AS HIGH CASTE GENERATION WHO ARE EQUIVALENT TO INDIA’S HIGH CASTE BRAHMINS?

Which is true? PTO

Achieve success in this world and hereafter a man has to take three births as per the claims of Vedas and Puranas

The following respected leaders and reformists like Periar E.V. Ramasamy, Dr. Ambedkar, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Lord Pending Ex Chief Ministers C.N. annadurai, Dr. Karunanithi and Mr. Shyam Sunder — Father of India’s Dalit Movement, our beloved Viduthalai K. Veeramani and respectable revolutionist fought against Brahminism and achieved tremendous victories. Because of their continuous efforts, Tamil Nadu today is a beacon for the caste of uplifting the low caste Hindus. Till Dr. M. Karunanidhi

period, there was peace all over Tamil Nadu and he kept the Brahmin/RSS under control. Even today still people talk how he handled the T'Nagar Sudden Pillaiyar and put an end to the absurdity. This truth cannot be denied by anyone.

When the late K. Kamaraj, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu launched plans for the upliftment of the lower caste Hindus, the Brahmin owned media spread the rumour that KAMRAJ NADAR was helping only NADARS. If it was for Brahmins, they would have praised Kamaraj.

Why is the so-called low caste Hindus financially destitute? Why is India economically backward? Because the Brahmins do not allow others to progress. They hold high offices in government, control the news media, educational system etc. How could others possibly rise up, come out of the caste system bondage? Needless to say, with all the facilities at their disposal they could produce brilliant scientists, doctor's etc. Assuredly even the low caste Hindus could do this if they were provided with the same facilities.

How can India prosper when a comparatively small family of Brahmins who form only 2% of Indian's population enjoys a major share of the fruit? The Brahmins are to be blamed for the backwardness and stagnation of other castes and the country, which is governed by them.

Other faiths do not have caste system. Periar and Dr. Ambedkar confirms this saying that for example Muslim religion Islam believes in absolute equality of human beings. No one is superior to another because of color, creed, caste, birth, position etc.

**ANY MAN WITH COMMON SENSE WILL AGREE WITH US IF HE REASONS OUT REMEMBER
IT IS A CHALLENGE!**

THE ORIGINATORS OF INDIAN CASTE SYSTEM ARE BRAHMINS. PUNISHMENT TO LOW CASTES.

The tongue of a Shudra, who spoke evil about a BRAHMIN, should be cut off. A Shudra who dared to assume a position of equality with the first three castes was to be flogged.

(Apastainbha Dharma Sutra 111, 10-26)

If a Shudra over heard a recitation of the Vedas molten tin was to be poured in to his ears; if he repented the Vedas his tongue should be cut and if he remembered Vedic hymns, his body was to be torn into pieces.

MANU 167-272 says:

If a Shudra over-heard a recitation of the Vedas motten tin was to be poured in to his ears; Again MANU 167-272 says:

Let the king never slay a Brahman though he may have committed all possible crimes.

With all reference to Vedas and Puranas it would be appropriate to question how fair the system is, of administering justice Well according to these Holy Books if a Brahman commits a sin he is forgiven, but onthe contrary if a low caste Hindu commits a sin, he has to feed twenty Brahmins in order to expiate or erase his sin. Would you call this fair and just system of justice?

Oh! My brethren! India was once a great nation of Hindus. Why is it now disintegrating? Why are Hindus turning to other beliefs for relief and solace? Why are they running away from Hinduism? This is all due to bias and spiritual intimidation and threats by the Brahmins, and of late by the RSS. People of other India differ with the Hindus only in faith. They are otherwise similar in all other aspects such as color, language, culture etc. They were originally Hindus so they are intact our brothers. But why did they accept a different faith? The Brahmins because they could not further tolerate the spiritual torture administer it. Recently, about 50,000 Harijans (untouchables because they were created from Brahma's feet) embraced other faiths. These people would have concluded to adopt these faiths in order to gain freedom for good from the menace of caste system.

AMBEDKAR on CONVERSION

In his book "WHY CONVERSION?" Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar has shown that the real struggle is between high caste Hindus and the Untouchables. One class against another is doing this injustice. The high caste's anger against the untouchables (low caste) is very simple. Your behavior on par with them **INSULTS** them. The untouchability is not a short or temporary feature, it is a permanent one. To free yourself you must establish close relations with some other society, or join some other religion. But until then you cannot get the strength from outside. This clearly means you must leave your present religion and assimilate yourselves with some other society. If you have to get rid of this shameful condition, if you have to cleanse this filth and make use of this precious life, there is only one way and that is to throw off the shackles of Hindu religion and the Hindu society in which you are bound. For

annihilating castes and untouchability from among the untouchables. CHANGE of the religion is the only antidote.

Also Dr. Ambedkar continues that to call oneself a Muslim, a Christian, a Buddhist or a Sikh is not merely a change of religion but also a change of name... A congenial idiot alone will say that one has to adhere to one's religion because it is that of our ancestors. No sane man will accept such a position. The Hindu society does not give equality of treatment. Obviously, the social equality is easily achieved by conversion. If this is true the social equality is easily achieved by conversion. If this is true then why should you not adopt this simple path of salvation which leads you ultimately to equality. After giving deep thought to the problem, everybody will have to admit that conversion is necessary to the Untouchables as self-government is to India.

Finally Dr. Ambedkar concludes conversion is the only way to eternal bliss. Nobody should hesitate even if political rights are required to be sacrificed for this purpose. Conversion brings no harm to the political safeguards. If you become Muslims you will get the political rights as Muslims. If you become Christians, you will get the political rights as Christians, if you become Sikhs, you will have your political safeguards as Sikhs. In short, our political rights will accompany us. Even after 20% of India's population changed into other religions within a short period of time, these Brahmins have not yet changed themselves. I tell you all very specifically, religion is for man and man is not for religion. To get human treatment, convert yourselves.

CONVERT for getting organized.

CONVERT for becoming strong

CONVERT for securing equality

CONVERT for getting liberty

CONVERT so that your domestic life may be happy.

I consider him as LEADER who without fear or favor tells the people what is good and what is bad for them. It is my duty to tell you, what is good for you, even if you don't like it. I must do my duty. And now I have done it.

It is now for you to decide and discharge your responsibility.

(Courtesy : LOKRAJYA)

RESULTS after CONVERSION

Just look at the people after conversion. Christians improved their educational, social and economic position very much. Whenever the Brahmin media criticizes the Pope, Church and their Institutions, the Christians are getting more and more stronger than the evil Community.

Muslims also have improved their social, economic and educational standard. If they changed the religion for GULF MONEY, they could have simply returned to their original UNTOUCHABLE category. Can you quote just one evidence for that. It is a challenge. I recently visited Tamilnadu all the way from Calcutta to just see a recent mass conversion and to my great surprise these new converts are doctors, advocates, engineers and most of them are income tax payers. When the Government and its official branded these new converts (educated and rich) have embraced another religion just for the Gulf money, this false claim and lies increased their faith with their new religion doubled. Though they were able to get their educational and

economic freedom because of the previously mentioned leaders and reformists, now only they got the real freedom from the Brahmin slavery and domination. To day they get rights equal to Brahmins. The only secret of their success is CONVERSION.

(The author was questioned by the Government appointed RSS / Brahmin Secret Service Agents permanently posted in that area inquiring me, who are you? Why should you came here all the way from Calcutta, how long you are working in South India, do you have property in Tamilnadu and so on. Really they are the very smart people.)

A SMART AND SELF-RESPECTING CONVERT!

Recently, a highly intellectual person from the (so-called) low caste Hindu extract embraced another religion. When he was urged by his family and Brahmin friends to revert to Hinduism, this gentleman readily agreed to come back to the fold of Hinduism on the condition that he be accepted as a Brahmin. This offer would have been naturally rejected since a low caste Hindu, according to Puranas and Vedas, can never become a Brahmin unless he goes through the process of birth and rebirth thrice. It is because of this discrimination by Brahmins that educated and uneducated Hindus embrace either other religions where it is very easy to be an equal among others on DAY ONE.

A HINDU CANNOT BECOME A BRAHMIN!

Since low caste Hindu started realizing the Brahmin's atrocities and embracing other religions, now Brahmin/RSS want them to come back to Hinduism. If they are sincere

they must welcome them to Brahminism. But do you know the truth! A man can easily become Christian, Muslim or Hindu. But he cannot become a BRAHMIN. According to Puranas and Vedas, he must take another three births to become a Brahmin.

As a result of Brahmin/RSS domination's and atrocities, today INDIA HAS MORE CHRISTIAN AND MUSLIM population than any other Christian and Muslim countries of the world!

Hindus now make up 80% of India's population. The prospects of this percentage is diminishing very fast as the atrocities of high caste Brahmins increasing and because of this, other religions are prospering, but Hinduism is dying day by day.

OUR CHALLENGE!

Show me a Christian, Muslim, Sikh who embraced Hinduism. If they really want, which caste of Hinduism will they embrace. Of course he cannot become a BRAHMIN.

According to Veda, he has to die for three more times. But the Brahmin will not object if he becomes another SHUDRA.

A SELF-DEFEATING HINDU!

Recently in a Bengal University there was a debate between moderate Hindu Professors and fanatic Hindus. The latter were prepared to give their lives to save Brahminism. Since the brain washing process in the past! (for many generations) by the Brahmins was an excellent one. It is not a wonder to see such people even today!

Who can stop one who wanted to put sand over his head himself! One can fool another in the name of religion for some time but not for EVER ! The 20% of Hindus, who have embraced Christianity and Islam to day, is the evidence of it!

BRAHMIN Vs APARTHIED

In India 2% Brahmins are ruling 98% Indians whereas in South Africa 10% whites are ruling 90% Blacks.

What right has India to talk about the apartheid policy of South Africa? When the worst kinds of apartheid policy is prevailing in India. As such we have no right to point fingers at others.

ALL THESE YEARS WE HAVE BEEN BLIND AND NOW IT IS TIME FOR US TO SEE.

The living llegend Mr. V.I. Rajashekar says:

No where in the world the word “peace”, “non-violence”, “tolerance” and “brotherhood” are repeated so many times in the day as in India. But nowhere in the world so much blood is shed. Perhaps more people were killed in India after the “independence” than in the two world wars. We talk of “democracy”, equality before law but keep a third of India’s 800 million people as untouchables, unseables, unapproachables and unthinkables.

O! My dear Hindu brethren, can’t you see the truth?

BRAHMIN vs WORLD BODIES ON APARTHIED IN INDIA

Violation of Human Rights is a fit case for International intervention and there cannot be a more gory case of persecution and torture in the whole world than that of India's Untouchables. The Minority Rights Group (36, Caven St., London Wc2-5NG, U.K.) has brought out a valuable document, UNTOUCHABLES OF INDIA, Price Stg. Pounds 1.20), exposing the Hindu persecution of Untouchables in India. Also, the American Ambassador to United Nations, Mrs. Jeane Kirkpatrick had brought out this subject in INDIA ABROAD (Dec. 17, 1982) when raising the issue of Untouchables in India. Sumnatha Banerjee, a noted Hindu columnist writes in the Deccan Herald, Dec. 16, 1982, "On almost all counts India has been violating the Covenant. The conservative figures cited by the Amnesty International in the annual report are quite revealing". The former Indian Prime Ministers (all Brahmins, Jawaharlal Nehru, Indira Gandhi, Morarji Desai and A.P. Vajpeyee (Foreign Minister) have spoken on the International antiapartheid (1978-79) without bothering about what is happening in India since Independence. The Untouchables in Contemporary India (University of Arizona Press, Tucson, Arizona USA) have clearly mentioned the problems of Untouchables in India. The Washington post reported on its front page of Jan 3, 1980 "Untouchables are still India's outcastes and are still persecuted despite Indian reform effort".

ANSERS TO RACIAL PROBLEMS

In his book the author says how this apartheid system should be handled. A FREE copy of this book can be had from P0 2439, DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA. THE BRAHMTNS/RSS CRITICISE THE BELIEFS OF THE CHRISTIANS AND THE MUSLIMS INSTEAD OF WORRIYING ABOUT THEIR OWN MYTHS.

BRAHMINISM vs BUDDHISM

In Ramayana (Ayodya Kanda— 100 Sarukkam — Page No. 374 — Translation by C.R. Srinivasa Iyer (Brahmin) says: A thief and BUDDHIST are same and there is no difference between them.

You must note the trick of this above claim. When the name Buddhism is quoted in the Ramayana it means that Buddhism is older than Hinduism.

C.V, VIDYA (Brahmin) writes in his EPIC INDIA Page 377:

“Buddha is a thief, the Tathagata is a Nastik Athiest. A wise man who can help it should therefore not be inclined towards Nastika”.

BRAHMANISM vs SIKHISM

Do you ever think why sikhism started? Who were Sikhs? Christians or Muslims? No, they were Hindus once. If you read what the respectable Guru Nanak had written before, you would be surprised.

Guru Nanak was keenly aware of the immorality of caste system; a system under which Brahmins gave themselves the most powerful and unchallengeable position at the cost of others and especially Shudras, who are condemned to lead a life below human dignity. He removed all the apartheid and atrocities that the Brahmin were doing from the Sikh society.

If you go through in detail what Guru Nanak has written you will clearly know that this knowledgeable man tried to save the people of Punjab from the caste Brahmins. As a result today the Sikhs are forming 2% of India's total population.

This belligerent and hostile attitude towards the non-Hindu communities in India is not new. In the past this Vedic discipline has been relentlessly applied against even "Hindu" reformers who tried to challenge the holy ideology of Brahmin domination. The Buddhists were driven out. The Jams were forcibly assimilated. Untouchables and tribals confined to segregated quarters. The Sikhs went a long way towards cultural assimilation, but when they demanded economic, political and cultural rights they were dubbed as outlaws.

The Hindu political culture does not admit of socio-cultural heterogeneity, not to mention political diversity. It has always sought a coercive homogenization of cultures and other religions being not in a position to oblige to such a view have to bear the full brunt of a resurgent Cast fascis.

CLAIMS OF SLKH LEADERS

In a recent Golden temple congregation, the head priest justified their claim for a separate land saying that why should we all be ruled by a 2% community (Brahmin) when they are not at all the sons of India. He concluded saying that Guru Nanak freed us from Brahmins slavery and let us free ourselves from Brahmins rule. Is this claim true? You be the judge!

DEVDAASI (LEGALISED PROSTITUTION)

Who created Devdasi and Jogins? The Brahmins. For whom? Certainly not for go—but on God's behalf—for the high cast priests. Who are the priests? The BRAHMINS. Where so the Devadasi and Jogins come from? The low caste Hindus (Shudras).

BARATHA NATY

Another claim by the BRAHMINS is BARATHA NATYA. Because of Brahmins media this dance is very famous today. Once again Dr. Charles criticizes that no decent man will ever allow his daughter or wife to entertain others in the name of an ART!

In the National Geographic Video program (The Explorer). Kalachetra's Rukmini Devi admits that since the Baratha Natya was the only art of Devadasis to please their audience and admirer, still the claim that only PROSTITUTES are learning this dance couldn't be changed. Also she admits that now only the Brahmins are trying to save this very old talented art. You might have seen plenty of the Baratha Natya's poses in Hindu temples. May be like KARATE to Japanese. BARATHA NATY to a Brahmin, since it is the culture and way of the Aryan.

KAMASUTRA

Again Dr. Charles says that the only CLAIM the BRAHMINISM can quote is the creation or KAMASUDRA (A "HOW TO DO?" BOOK). Even that is not practicable in daily life because of its poses are not at all possible to any human beings. Also to perform such an sexual act you require two more ASSISTANTS!

SEXUAL ABUSE OF DALIT (LOW CASTE) GIRLS

UNI-TNDIAN EXPRESS — MAY 29, 87 says that according to Indian Health Organization (IHO), the practice of dedicating innocent young girls as “DEVADASIS” to the Yellamma temple in Belgaum district in Karnataka, continues despite the ban imposed by the State Government.

There is no big surprise in the above claim. LORD KRISHNA is the first person who started these atrocities to the low caste milkmaid girls when he used to steal their saris and gazing at their naked bodies from the treetops!

LITERACY

Here is the aphorism of the Brahma-Sutras:

“shravana, adhana, arthapratishedhat smriteh ca”

Brahma—Sutras 1.3.9.38

Meaning:

“The smriti orders that Shudras must be prohibited from hearing, studying and understanding the Vedas”.

In his book “The Sacred Books of the East” which is the translation of SHANKARA’S BRAHMA-SUTRA-BHASHYA, Mr. George Thibaut (edited by F. Max Muller and published by Motilal Bandarsidas, Delhi 1968) which says:

“The Shudras tongue is to be slit if he pronounces it (VEDAS); his body is to be cut through if he preserves it and so on...”

India is the only country in the world where Brahmins made education their exclusive monopoly. And also imposed strict penalty on learning by low castes. The penalty on LEARNING included cutting the tongue and pouring molten lead into ears etc. Please read the MANSUMRITI for more details.

Do you know the average Indian literacy rate? It is 30%

But the Brahmins have 100%.

Out of the total Indian doctors in the U.S.A. 67% are Brahmins. The Indian Government is spending millions of rupees to educate these selfish Brahmins who instead of serving the poor masses of India work in rich.

On the other hand Brahmin professionals in the field of Engineering and Law exploit the people of India. Their representation in these fields is 53% and 57% respectively. In the fields of education, what percentage do their Teachers and Professors make up? It is more than 51%. Out of 2% of India's population, how the BRAHMINS can dominate this much percentage of fortune! Do you think they have achieved this much success in a right and justified work? No it cannot be so. Look at the Yadhavas (Vanniars) and Sikhs! They are also representing 2% each of India's population and their overall percentage is not even 3% of success.

Who has the major share of magazine/news papers published in India?

Of course, the publishing houses are owned by the Brahmins/RSS.

What is the size of their share? According to a recent survey, it is approximately 8%.

The following are the well known Newspapers and periodicals, that are owned by the Brahmins, not to mention so many other which are financed by the Brahmins to blow their trumpets.

Indian Express —93% employees are Brahmins

Hindu — 97 % employees are Brahmins

Times of India— 83% employees are Brahmins

Organizer

Deccan Herald

Hindustan Times

India To-day

Mirror

Illustrated Weekly

Ananda Vikadan

Kalaimahal

Savi Idayam

Kalki

Tuklak

How far do these newspapers and magazines help India solve its burning national problems? Nil. On the contrary they methodically brainwash young minds to hate people who are not Hindus. They use all the means at their disposal to ensure that the so-called low caste Hindus remain divided and oppressed.

How do they capitalize on the Media?

You now know that the Media as a whole is under their full control. Recently, Kamalahasan, a well-known South Indian actor (Polygamy Brahmin) got himself in trouble. This allowed his closest rival Rajni Kant, a non—Brahmin, to become No. 1 hero. The Brahmin/RSS owned media came out with a rumor that Rajani Kant suffer from leprosy. Why did they spread such a rumor? Obviously to help the Brahmin Kamalahasan to regain his position. Why does the Brahmin/RSS press fabricate such stories? Whom do they hurt? You, ofcourse, the lower caste Hindus.

When anybody marries more than one wife the Brahmin/RSS owned newspapers make a big issue of this. Nevertheless, when Kamalahassan (Brahmin) got married to a cinema actress for the second time, the Brahmins hushed up the matter immediately.

Recently one MP challenged in a public meeting in Madras anyone who can show a Muslim married four wives. If so, he will give him 10,000 Rupees. On the other hand he mentioned 7 leading Brahmin Businessmen and Advocates who live with 4 wives to day. An enthusiastic Hindu Munnani Brahmin (RSS Branch) volunteers took up this challenge but failed to find one from the Muslims. On the other hand they have

confirmed the ME's report that Brahmins have married 4 wives and living in separate bungalows.

God Subramaniam had two wives, God Dasharathan had thousands of wives according to Ramayana. So Hindu Gods and Brahmins can many more than one. But not lower caste Hindu.

Recently when the Govt. of India sacked Mr Venkateswaran ex-foreign Secretary, a Brahmin for reasons, which cannot be made public due to the sensitivity of the subject, the entire Brahmin World made an outcry in every possible way.

ALL INDIA BRAHMIN RADIO & T.V.

These Brahmins have invaded both All India Radio and Television all over India. Most of the time Brahmins and their programs only are on air. Hence we can call them as ALL BRAHMIN RADIO & TV.

BRAHMINS, TEE WEALTHY

Manu —VIII 35,39 says:

“When a learned Brahman has found treasure deposited in former times, he may take even the whole of it, for he is master of everything. When the kind finds treasure of gold concealed in the rounds, let him give one-half to Brahmins and place the other half in his treasury”.

MANU—VII, 133 also says:

“Brahmans should not be taxed and should be maintained by the state”. ABOUT LOW CASTE Shudras. MANU SMRIT X, 129:

That no collection of wealth was to be made by a Shudra even though he may be able to do it, for a Shudra who has acquired wealth give pain to Brahman, and that a Brahman may appropriate by force the property of a Shudra.

PAYCEVANISH BRAHMAN 3-1/11 says:

Even if a Shudra acquired wealth, he must always remain a slave. His main job is to wash the feet of the higher caste.

TULSIDAS, a Brahman in his Ramayana writes:’

Even if a Shudra is learned and virtuous, he should not be given respect and honor.

When the British left India almost all the industries owned by them were taken over by the Brahmins. So much so that today they own about 60% of the leading Industries in the country. Remember their (Brahmin) population is only 2% of the total population of India.

Let us briefly look at other statistics:

Banks

Airlines

LAS Officers

LPS Officers

Radio & T.V

- 57% of employees are Brahmins
- 61% of employees are Brahmins
- 72% of employees are Brahmins
- 61% of employees are Brahmins
- 83% of employees are Brahmins

C.B.1, Customs Officials & Central Excise: 72%

A recent classified report says that most of the spies who passed the Indian intelligence information to the other countries in the past and earned over night millions are also BRAHMINS. You might have read and confirmed this information's in the Indian newspapers in the past.

For example, let us see how generous these Brahmin are in giving employment to others in Tamil Nadu:

India Pistons

Sundaram Clayton

Simpson Groups

TVS Group

- 87% Brabmins
- 91% Brabmins

- 89% Brahmins
- 93% Brahmins

BRAHMIN vs YADAVAS (VANNERS)

The population of Yadhavas is also 2% and let us see how much percentage they are getting:

Banks

Airlines

LAS Officers

IPS Officers

- 0.2 % of employees are Yadhavas
- 0.1% of employees are Yadhavas
- Nil
- Nil

Do you get a fair salary for your hard work? No. Why ? Because most of the paymasters are Brahmins. Can you live with this pay? Naturally you cannot. Remember! Your children/grand children too will continue your way of life until you free yourself from the control of Brahmins/RSS.

How many Governors are Brahmins?

How many are Ambassadors and officials in foreign countries all over the world?

POLITICS OF INDIA AND BRAHMINS (RSS) CONNECTION

Since India's independence, only BRAHMINS ruled India. All Prime Ministers of India so far were only BRAHMINS Most of the PRESIDENTS were BRAHMINS.

"2% RULING OVER 98% – WONER!"

Even recently the two major PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES were BRAHMINS. Then who will be selected! "Head I win and Tail you loose". With all these appointments also the BRAHMINS are not satisfied. Finally the VICE PRESIDENT is also a BRAHMIN.

Is there no one in India other than the ONLY Brahmins for such positions? So, you believe that these 98% population are IGNORANTS and ILLITERATES! It is more worse than South Africa, where 10% white is ruling over 90% black population. But here 2% BRAHMIN is ruling over 98% NON BRAHMIN of India. To a Brahmin all the 98 % of India's population are nothing but SHUDRAS, irrespective of your beliefs about yourselves as Hindu, Christian, Muslim, Sikh and Buddhist. UNBELIEVABLE.

Recently they have proved only BRAHMINS can become a Prime Minister, President and Vice President. Did any one notice this?

BRAHMIN LOBBY!

How many are in the Central Governments all over India? The Central Government survey says these are more than 47%. In Delhi alone in the Central Government

Offices there are 71%. Since there is only one lobby viz. BRAHMIN LOBBY in the Indian Parliament, there is no wonder if all the heads of Department (Prime Minister, persident and Vice president) are Brahmins.

Oh! My suppressed, oppressed, innocent Hindu Brethren! Are you aware that the high caste Brahmins have not spared you even in politics.

IS INDIA A SECULAR COUNTRY?

Who said India is a secular country? If so, all our claims are garbage and full of lies. The master race is following Indian, the original sons of the soil in the name of secularism, Church said "Name the dog and kill it" and Brahmin is implementing it without anyone noticing.

INDIAN MILITARY SERVICE

It is significant that these Brahmins/RSS members never join the armed forces as fool soldiers, border, guards, and other low grade jobs in order to save their own "white" skin, But in high posts as officers they are present in large numbers.

THE SMART BRAHMINS

BRAHMINS are really smart people. Since they are all motivated claiming that according to Vedas and Puranas they are the Master race of the earth from the day of Asoka,

they have educated themselves generation after generation and today you will see that a Brahmin means an educated person: During Second World War they have started learning German language. For what? If they won the war, they can go and serve the Germans. They are flexible, never argue with you and appear submissive. But remember they are the No. 1 opportunist!

BRAHMINS AND YOU

O! HELPLESS HINDU! Why don't your children get opportunities to study and become doctors, engineers, lawyers, collectors (LAS) and Police Officers (IPSO)? Because if you study you will get freedom from Brahmin rule and they will lose their control and slip down from their higher positions.

What is your present situation? Most of you can never hope for anything other than work for daily or monthly wages and work as a landless farmer, until your death. And this situation will not come to an end with your death. Your children will inherit the same fate of being landless farmers.

BRAHMINS/RSS AND VIOLENCE

Who was responsible for the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the Nation? Obviously, you know the answer. Because the Mahatma preached and practiced inter communal harmony. Equality among people, including the low caste Hindus whom he named as Harijans (which means children of God). All beings are CREATURES of one God and therefore all are equal!

How many attempts were made the life of Ambedkar and Periyat?

OPEN WARNING TO BRAHMEN/RSS ALLIES

O! SAFFRON CLOTH WEARING BRAHMTN/RSS, WE KNOW THE RSS AND ITS BRANCHES AND WE WARN THEM IF ANYTHING HAPPENS TO THE LIVING LEGENDS WHO TRY TO SAVE INDIA FROM THE SLAVERY BONDAGE. IF ANYTHING HAPPEN TO THEM, THE BRAHMIN AND THEIR RSS ALLIANCES WILL BE HELD RESPONSIBLE AND WE KNOW HOW TO TAKE REVENGE AGAINST THEM.

REMEMBER THEY HAVE ALREADY WRITTEN THEIR WILL KNOWING WHO YOU ARE !
BEWARE!

Brahmins/RSS Know the technique of cooking plots in such a manner that once they are put into effect, the lower class Hindu will be always at the receiving end i. e. you will have to face the consequences.

He is the planner! You are the executioner. Risk to his life and property? Nil. Risk to your life and property 100%.

Currently Brahmins and the R.S.S are training ignorant Hindus in armed combat in order to exploit them and use them as cannon fodder, as and when required.

In India nobody is training himself in a violence training except the Brahmin and RSS armies who have not only the Governments approval but also its blessing.

In a peace loving country such as India, is this training in violence essential? Or even optional? If you have a patriotic feeling and want to save India, why not join, the Indian armed forces?

OH! MY INNOCENT HINDU BROTHERN, WHY DON'T YOU THINK, DISCUSS, JOIN HANDS WITH OTHER BROTHERS, UNITE AND ACT AGAINST THE CRUELITIES, ATROCITIES AND INHUMAN ACTIONS DIRECTED AGAINST YOU BY THE BRAHMINS/RSS IN THE NAME OF RELIGION? WHY DON'T YOU PLAN TO START THINKING POSITIVELY FOR YOUR OWN GOOD?

CHAPTER III

GODS

Brahmins always criticize, condemn and mock other Religions when they have nonsensical practices themselves. Their criticism and mocking is unreasonable, unacceptable, and unnecessary. This breeds inter-communal hatred and disrupts the peace of our Mother Land. When you point a finger at others you must realize that the other four fingers point towards you.

Now let us examine what others say about Brahminism.

Although the Hindu philosophers say that Hinduism has only one God in theory, which is not known to the majority of Hindus, in practice almost all Hindus worship thousands of different Gods.

For example:

Men

Women

Planets

Stones

Mice

Pigs

Snakes

Monkeys

Male & Female sexual organs (Lingam & Yoni) –

THOUSANDS OF Gods?

Almost each and every Hindu is worshipping a different God throughout India. There is no uniformity in Hindu Gods.

MALE Gods ARE SURROUNDED BY FEMALE Gods!

In the temples most of the male Gods are surrounded by female Gods. Also many of the Gods are having more wives and only a very few Gods have married with only one wife!’

GOD’S SEXY APPEARANCES

Go and see the Hindu Goddesses (Sita, Parvathi etc) and how they are projected in temples. How sexy they are? Can their carved out gestures show you to worship? Can you imagine either your mother or sister or daughter in such an erotic pose? And you call this a holy place?

AN INTELLIGENT THIEF

Recently one Hindu thief was arrested and he disclosed that he had stolen more than 134 statues in different places and sold them for a good price. This smart thief questioned the police, “if these are real Gods they would have stopped or punished me. So I should be booked for stealing statues and not Gods”.

See, how funny it is! If these Gods cannot save themselves, how can they save you?

MILESTONE Gods

How many milestones have become Gods? It is so simple just paint some red and yellow color on a milestone and keeps a coin box (hundi) next to it. In a short time it will become a God. In India, each and every corner has a small God with some funny names getting more and more worshippers daily.

DR CHARLES'S CLAIMS

In his biography, Dr. Charles, an American scholar says it is very simple to define a Hindu. He says a Hindu means "one who believes anything and everything if said in the name of God And never will its authenticity be questioned."

Brahmins claim that Lord Rama is incarnated (came in human form) to study and understand the, difficulties of mankind. Why is it necessary for a God to incarnate, if he is a God? Why coming a cockroach or a donkey to understand the sufferings of these creatures?

LORD RAMA

Lord Rama is the central character of the Epic RAMAYANA: His father was polygamous. Historians say that since Dasartha (god Rama's father) was having many' wives, the whole Ramayana story was created. If Dasaratha remained with only one

wife, you and I would have never heard these fairy tales.

Now Brahmins always chant “RAMA, RAMA” and so on. According to Ramayana, when he lived in the world he spent most of his time to save his wife Sita and enjoying his life only. Now he did he find time to save these Brahmins? Let us see what Ramayana says about the God RAMA!

GOD RAMA WAS FOOLED BY SUKRIEVAN

When God Rama was exiled to the forest together with his wife Sukrievan appeared as a deer and fooled God Rama. A God is supposed to know everything. If Rama was a God, he should have known that sukrievan was disguising as a deer to deceive Rama enabling Ravana to kidnap the Goddess Sita to Sri Lanka.

2 YEARS TO God RAMA BUT ONE DAY TO RAVANA

To retrieve his wife from Ravana, God Rama sought the assistance of Hanuman, a monkey God. Hanuman agreed to help Lord Rama to bring his wife on condition that he (god Rama) in turn help him (Hanuman) to kill his twin brother prior to undertaking the mission. It took more than twelve years for Hanuman to build a bridge and accomplish the task but Ravana just took Sita and flew to Sri Lanka in one day's time. Now judge for yourself, who is more powerful? God Rama or devil Ravana?

- If Hanuman was a God he should've contracted to murder his own twin brother.

- If Hanuman, a monkey God, is capable of flying why cannot God Rama, a greater God, fly?
- Will a God seek the assistance of another God to murder a third God”
- If Hanuman could fly carrying big mountains, he should have in the first instance carried and flown God Rama to Sri Lanka, which would have resulted in early rescue of Sita.
- Lord Rama, even agreed to be a party in the murder of God Hanuman’s twin brother.
- Who knows what Ravana might have done to Sita during this period of twelve year? Definitely a devil would have done only devilish things!

Before helping God Rama, Hanuman made Rama to shoot his own twin brother in the back and only then did Hanuman help God Rama. How can a God kill someone who is not his real enemy? Just because God Rama wanted to save his wife Sita? How can a God indulge in such a criminal act?

These are not empty claims. The Ramayana is telling us this

INTERESTING INCIDENTS IN God RAMA’S LIFE MEAT-EATING God RAMA

1. When God Rama was told to go to forest, he mournfully revealed to his mother: “it has been ordained that I have to lose the kingdom, forego the princely comforts and the tasteful MEAT-DISHES and to go to the forest to eat the vegetables and fruits” (AYOTHIA KANAM, 20,26, 94” Chapters).
2. With a heavy heart he said to his wife and mother “The kingdom that has

been about to become mine has slipped out of my hands (Ayothia Kandan, 20, 26, 94th chapters) and also I have been ordained to go to the forest.

3. He approached Lakshmana and characterized his father (Dasaratha) as a criminal and said:
4. “Will any fool agree to send away to the forest a person who has all through been carrying out his will?” (Ayothia Kandan, 53rd Chapter)

MANY WIVES TO God RAMA

5. Mr. C.R. Sreenivasa Iyengar’s translation of Valmiki Ramayana says:
“Though Rama had married Sita to be the queen, he married many other wives for sexual pleasure in accordance with the royal customs (Ayothia Kandan 8th Chapter, Page 28). The term “Rama’s wives” has been used many places in Ramayana.
6. Rama accused Kaikeyi as a WICKED WOMEN. (Chapters 31 and 53, Ayothia Kandan)
7. Again Rama accused her that “Kaikeyi would ill-treat my mother” (Ayothia Kanda, 31 and 53 chapters)
8. In the forest he told Lakshmana, “as our father has grown old and infirm and as we have also come to the forest. Bharatha with his wife will be

ruling over Ayothis joyfully without any opposition. (Ayothia Kandarn, 53rd chapter)". This brings to light his innate baseness, jealousy and ambition to capture the throne.

GOD RAMA'S RESPECT FOR HIS FATHER

9. Rama called his father "a FOOL, an IDIOT" (Ayothia Kandam, 53rd Chapter).
10. "If I am enraged I can myself crush all my enemies and become the king. But I desist from taking this course for he fear that I will be scorned at by the people at large" thus Rama showed his disregard for justice and truthfulness (Ayothia Kandam, 53rd Chapter)
- II. Baratha hearing the news of Rama's banishment went to the forest to take him back to the country. On seeing Baratha, Rama questioned him. "O Baratha, are you chased away y the citizens? Have you come here out of your unwillingness to help our father?" "Now your mother's desire are accomplished, is she happy?" Thus Rama further asked Baratha. (AYOTHIA KANDAM, Chapter 100).
12. Baratha assured God Rama that he gave up his claim to the throne. Then only God Rama disclosed to Baratha the secret that Dasaratha had already kingdom to Baratha's mother, Kaikeyi (Chapter 107, Ayothia Kandam). The noble man Baratha returned with the shoe and pinned it on the throne and he was making throw him self into fire. Such an upright and

good person was SUSPECTED by God Rama.

[One page is missing here](#)

Note: This Rama who mercilessly took away the life of sambuka for no other fault than that he was making penance is held as the Avatar (Incarnation) of Vishnu! If there were kings, like Rama now alas! What would be the plight of those who are called “Shudras?”.

[HOW God RAMA BROKE THE BOW?](#)

23. The bow that was broken by Rama was Sita's. This bow was already a broken one. (Refer Abidhana Chintamani Paged 157,331,571,663,894,1151,1173 and 1494).

24. This is supported by various Ramayanas and Prasumm

[CONTRADICTIONS OF God RAMA'S AGE!](#)

25. Look at his age when he broke the bow. When God Rama broke this bow, according to his mother, he was then 5 years old, according to his father, he was about 10. According to his wife (Sita) his age was 12. Whatever it might be but it was already a broken is true according to the story.

[HOW God RAMA ENJOYED?](#)

26. God Rama narrated his own brother (Lakshman) how he enjoyed his wife Sita (Kisikinda kadam — Chapter 1 Pages 2,4,5,6 & 7). (For deeney's sake, we didn't elaborate these chapters).

GOD RAMA SUSPECTED SITA!

27. God Rama asked, "Sita! How could Ravana have left you (during these 12 years) without being seduced?

Sita replied. "True! But what could I do? I am only a weaker sex. My body was in RAVANA's possession. I did not do anything wrong WILLINGLY. However, mentally I was with you. It was only divine will" But she did not assert herself that "Ravana has not seduced me". (Uttara Kadam, Chapter 118).

GOD RAMA ABANDONED SITA!

28. Seeing her pregnancy Rama's doubt increased. Raina asked her to plunge herself into the fire and come out to prove her chastity. Even though Sita had undergone this trial prescribed by Rama, yet Raina found out Sita's pregnancy. Rama took shelter under the charge made by the citizen and ordered his brother Lakshman to take Sita to the forest and leave her there. Then Sita showing her abdomen to Lakshmana said, "See my stomach! My pregnancy is four months old" (Uttara Kadam, Chapter 118)

FALSE CLAIM BY RAMAYANA?

Even though Sita plunged herself into the fire, God Rama didn't believe her chastity and abandoned her in the forest. If God Rama's suspicion is correct, she should be burnt in the fire. But Ramayana says that she came out of fire without any burning. Even after the plunging into the fire, God Rama was suspicious on Sita!

In the forest she gave birth to two children

(Uttara Kandam, Chapter 66)

When length Rama asked Sita to swear, she declined and died (Uttara Kandam, Chapter 97)

SITA

1. Her birth is doubtful and questionable (Ayothia Kandarn Chapter 66)
2. She was older than Rama
3. She says "I was found out from the dust and by that fact my parentage not being known, none did come forward to woe me for many days even after I attained maturity.

SITA'S RESPECT TO God RAMA

4. Sita told Rama "You are no better than a woman monger who lets his wife for hire and makes his livelihood. You want to be profited by my PROSTITUTION". Sita also told Rama "You lack impotence manners and

- charm". "She called her husband a "simpleton".
5. Sita having scented that Rama was always suspicious of her conduct exclaimed "Rama! You are my savior! In none but yourself I repose my love. This many a time I swear by you; yet you do not believe me!
 6. Rama said "I tested you" (6,7,8,9,10 & 11 Ayothia Kadam, Chapter 30)
 7. Rama having in mind her pompousness and fragility of mind directed her that she should strip off all her ornaments if she were to accompany him the forest. Sita did accordingly but again she put on some other jewels without the knowledge of Rama (Ayothia Kanda, Chapter 30)
 8. Kausalya who was noticing this advised Sita "to behave like a bobble and virtuous lady. Do not disregard your husband's worth". Sita insolently replied to her mother-in-law, "I know all this". Yet she did not remove her jewels (Ayothia Kandarn, Chapter 37).
 9. She prayed to the river while crossing it —"Oh! River! If I return safely to ayothia I will offer you a thousand cows and a thousand pots of toddy". (Ayothia Kadam, Chapter 52).
 10. Whenever Rama was languishing in the disappearance of Sita, Lakshrnana casually remarked. "Why do you bother yourself for an ordinary woman?" (Aranya Kadam Chapter 66).
 11. Lakshxnana expressed that Sita was a woman of questionable character. (Aranya Kandani, Chapter 18).
 12. When Lakshmana expressed that Sita was a woman of questionable character. (Aranya Kadam, Chapter 18).
 13. As soon as Sita stepped into Ravana's palace her love towards Ravana grew more (AranyaKadam, Chapter 54).
 14. When at length Rama asked Sita to swear, she declined and died. (Ittara

kandam, Chapter 97).

15. Kuvuvavthy, sister-in-law of Rama said to him "Oh! Elder! How you love Sita more than you love yourself. Come with me and see what really is in your lovely wife's heart. Still she could not forget that fellow Ravana. Drawings picture of Ravana on a hand-fan and pressing it closely to her breast. She is lying on your bed with eyes closed thinking on and rejoicing at Ravana's glories" Rama sighed and went out to Sita's apartment. She was found sleeping pressing her breast the hand-fan in which Ravana's picture was drawn. This is found in pages 199, 200 of Bangali Ramayana written by Mrs. Chandravathi. Also Sita was caught red handed by Rama that she had drawn the picture of Ravana (Notes on ramayana" by Mr. CR. Srinivasa Iyenger)

SITA vs LAKSHMANA

1. Lakshmana told Soorpanka "Sita is a characterless woman. Her breast has grown old" (Aranya Kandam, Chapter 18).
2. "Let anybody carry away Sita! Let her die! What does it matter! Are we to suffer for a woman?"

HANUMAN

1. He spoke to Sita in most obscene and slang terms on subjects (even about penis) (Sundara Kandam, Chapter 35) We do not like to discuss it openly here.

RAVANA

1. A great learned man
2. A great Saint
3. A master of scriptures (Sastras and Vedas)
4. A merciful protector of his subjects and relatives
5. A brave man
6. A very strong man
7. A chivalrous soldier
8. A very pious man
9. A beloved son of God and
10. A recipient of many boons

Hanuman himself described in his own words about Ravana's refinement in love affairs. "All the women in Ravana's palace offered themselves contrarily of their own free will to be his (Ravana's) wives. He had not touched any woman without her consent, i.e., by force, as he had been cursed by Brahma that his body will be burnt if he touched a women without her consent.

This historians say that Ravana was a Dravidian and was misrepresented by the Aryan Brahmin (to the world as a devilish person).

WHY RAVANA KIDNAYPED SITA!

The real truth is this Ravana carried away Sita, Rama's wife, because his sister was maimed and deformed by Rama and Lakshmana. For this act of Ravana, why should

Sri Lanka be set fire to? Why should the Sri Lankans be killed?

WHAT LEADER SAYS ABOUT God RAMA?

My Rama (god Rama) is not the Rams of Ramayana

MAHATMA GANDHI

Ramayana and Mahabharatha are nothing but another Arabian Nights Story.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Rama is not a God; but he is a hero

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

First Governor General of India &

Ex Chief Minister, Tamil Nadu

Ramayana is not a divine story; it is only a literature

KALIYUGA KAMBAN

T.K. CHIDMIBARNATHA MUDALLAR

RAM NAM SATYE HAY!

Whenever a Hindu dies, on the way to his cremation, you say, "RAMA NAM SATYE HAY", "RAMA NAM SATYE HAY". Did you ever ask yourself, which Ramais this? Is he the one according to Ramayana or who else? Is he be one with the above mentioned qualities? Even today people are killing each other to save his birth place without bothering the available historical and legal evidences. Be good to yourself and you be the judge without fooling yourself. "RAMA NAM SATYE HAY"!

LORD KRISHNA

This God is very fond of looking at naked bodies of young milkmaid girls (low caste) while they bathed. To get a full view of the naked body of these virgin girls he goes to the extent of hiding their clothes on free tops in order to get a panoramic view of their bodies. "Can this action be attributed to a God? And that too Lord Krishna? Does he have divine immunity to look at naked women? Is this in conformity with God's image? Now if anyone else does the same thing, can be exempted from any kind of punishment?

Also the famous Gita, the Holy book of Hindus quotes that when these bathing low case girls begged for the return of their clothes Lord Krishna demanded that they come out of the water with their hand raised instead of covering their bodies. This is not someone's fantasy. If you read your Holy book Gita, you will know the truth. Also Dr. Charles says that Lord Krishna was apparently a "PLAYBOY God".

Such behavior is considered immoral and indecent even among perverted societies. It is very improbable and unacceptable that a God involves himself in such acts!

Can any respectable Hindu allow his daughter or sister or wife to bath while Lord Krishna is watching them?

O my respectful Hindu sister? Will you take a bath while Krishna is watching your bare body?

O my innocent Hindu brethren! If his God is capable of indulging in such ungodly acts, how can you accept that Gita is a Holy Book revealed by Lord Krishna?

LORD GANESH

According to Puranas Goddess Parvathi, wife of God Shiva asked his permission to have a baby. When Shiva refuses to permit, she took dirt from her body and created Lord Ganesh. The late E.V.R. Periar used to call this God as “bundle of dirt”. Alright A normal child will weight 3 Kilos. Was Goddess Parvathi having that much “dirt” in her body.

It was Lord Shiva who mistakenly chopped off the head of his own son Lord Ganesh (Ganapathy). Can you believe that” a God making a mistake and cutting off his own son’s head? If you pray to this God to solve your problems, will he solve them or make them more complicated.

To rectify his mistake, Lord Shiva severed the head of a baby elephant and transplanted it on Lord Ganesh who has since been referred to as the Elephant Headed God. It is a pity that the unfortunate baby elephant came across Lord Shiva who at the moment planning to a replacement for his beloved son’s head. In other words if a donkey or a monkey had turned up prior to this baby elephant, Lord Ganesh would have had a donkey’s or a monkey’s head. In this a twentieth century who will believe such ridiculous story? (There is a different version to this story which for the sake of decency, cannot be written there).

You will find most of the Lord Ganesh statues near river sides and the reason is that he is looking for a girl to marry who should have the resemblance’s of his MOTHER (Goddess Parvathi)! Will any one marry a mother like person as his wife? Is it not

INCEST? How can a God do that? Alright is here any information in the Puranas that Lord Ganesh had a wife!

GOD MURUGA

God Muruga has two wives (Valli and Deivani) and the quarrel between these two wives will be an interesting one.

LORD NATARAJA

Do you see this God's statue in as many temples as those of other Hindu Gods? No, you won't. Because, unfortunately, many of them are presently teaching Baratha Natyam in air-conditioned Western Museums. Those in the West think it unjust to see this God standing on one leg on a child. This God is the favorite of both the Hindu worshippers and the smugglers. To the later this God fetches very high prices in the West not because of its divine status but for its antique value.

KALI THE GODDES OF VIOLENCE

United press of India (UPI) recently reported that during the past three years more than 2500 young boys, and girls were sacrificed to Goddess Kali in India. Another of APP's recent reports says hundreds of young boys, virgin girls are sacrificed every month for the deity Kali. Ram Sewak a father hacked his eight-year old son in broad daylight in Delhi. Kali had told him he would come back to life and bring him good fortune. The blood thirsty Kali is worshipped openly the length and breadth of India.

Kali stands naked astride the inanimate body of one more Hindu deity Shiva, tongue stuck out, dripping blood from fang like teeth. She holds a noose, a skull-topped staff, a blood encrusted sword and severed head. Kali is naked, although daily garlanded with flowers, in addition to a skull garland. She is also known as Durga, Devi Saktima, Sati, Uma Kali but says a child may be killed so that a man can have a son. Six month old Rinku was sacrificed because villagers believed Kali had demanded human blood. The APP report also says, in the eastern state of Orissa, as in Bihar, a virgin's blood is said to be sprinkled on barren land, or a male child buried under foundations of bridges to appease the multi-functional Hindu Gods and Goddesses. Again the reports says.... Bihar's police chief J. Shahay said: "We have tried our best to curb human sacrifices, but what can an agency do when an entire chooses a victim and cuts off his head with his parent's consent". Finally, "Human sacrifice under our law is treated as murder, but the killer is never found—is always being the local high priest," said Bihar's famous lawyer, Umakant Chaturvedi, who has dealt with two cases of human sacrifice. "At times the local policemen are reluctant to take action because of the inbred fear of Gods and Goddess, "he said.

The more famous human sacrifice occurred in 1972 when a powerful leader in Maharashtra state — in order to find a treasure offered blood from 11 virgin girls to Manja. He did not find the treasure, but four persons were hanged for the crime, but the main culprit escaped because of his political influences.

Sometime ago, two brothers Siddharth and Ravi asked their 21 year old sister Shobha to take a bath and come for prayers to a nearby temple in Kerala state. To her horror, the brothers pierced her with a sword and iron rods chanting mantras. Withering in pain, she begged for pity but she was cut to pieces and her body burned inch by inch.

The brothers had done it to unearth a hidden treasure. At first they tried to find another victim when they failed to find another virgin girl, they sacrificed their own sister.

Brahmin children (only) are exempted by the Vedas from human sacrifice. Accordingly no Brahmin child has ever been sacrificed in Indian history!

AYAPPA

This God is very famous in South India. But unfortunately the story confirms that both the father and the mother of this God were males. In other words they were HOMOSEXUALS. It will be a pity if the West learn this story. These Gods were the root cause of the dreaded disease —AIDS!

PANCHALI

Five brothers were married to the same woman, Panchali. This is known as polyandry. Even in the most perverted form of vice in the West, polyandry is never heard of. Supposing a child was born to this lady, who would become its legitimate father? Will any Hindu live with his brother's wife OR will any Hindu woman have sex with her in laws as Panchali did?

Who is the real father of Panchali's children?

Dr. Charles says you will find many instances of incest in Hinduism if you go through its scriptures.

GODMEN OR CONMEN?

SANKARACHARYA OF PURI –HIS HOLINESS

SANKARACHARYA (BRAHMIN'S spiritual leader) has given an interview to the Kalyan (Hindi) monthly magazine of Ghorapur, from which the following extracts are reproduced here!

Q: "Maharaj ! If a Shudra acts righteously, can he become Brahman'

A: "If the Shudra acts according to his code and keeps within the limits of Varnashrama he may become a Brahman in the next birth but never in the present."

Q: "Is the belief in the caste system essential?"

A: "Yes; it is very essential. There can be no progress without belief in Varnashrama".

Q: "Maharaj !The change of caste depends on deeds and virtues".

A: "No, it depends on birth and not on deeds", The Shankaracharya then emphasis : Caste depends on birth, deeds cannot change it. This is an IRREFUTABLE TRUTH".

Again, inaugurating the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (RSS Branch) at Patna in April the Shankaracharya said:

"Untouchability is a part and parcel of Hindu social system. I shall cling to this belief

even if they HANG ME.”

George Fernandez, M. P. and Y. B. Chavan, Home Minister have objected to His Holiness Shankaracharya's claim in the Lok Sabha.

Sri, Prabhu Dana Brahmachari (Brahmin). A well known Saint of Bindraban, speaking in Mathura on the 19th April 1969 threatened the Shudras and their spokesmen (Christians) and (Muslims) who criticize the Shankaracharya for his views on the caste system and untouchability in the following words:

I condemn those who use improper words against SHANKARACHARYA for his views. No one can stop religious leader from expressing his views. If the Government use force and bring the law into action, there will be civil war in the country and a storm will be raised.”

20th April, 1967. Swantantanna Dahram)

O! You Low Caste Hindus better know what the MANU says (Chapter VIII Sloka 4,14).

“Stavery is inborn among the Shudras and no one can free them from it”.

Again the same Brahmin originated MANU (HOLY BOOK) says in Chapter 19, Sloka 413:

“Sri Brahma (gold the creator) had intended from internity that the untouchables should be born slaves and lives as slaves and die as slaves”.

VIVEKANANDA vs SHANKARA

Even Swami Vivekananda criticize Shankara saying:

“The Acharya could not adduce any proof from the Vedas to the effect that the Shudras should not study the Vedas. He only quotes “Yagnenavaklupath” (Tai Samhita, VII, i.1.6) to maintain that when he is not entitled to perform Yagna he has neither any right to study the Upanishads and the like. But the same Acharya contends with reference to “Atho to Brahma gignasa (Vadanta –sutra 1.i.1) that the word Atha here does not mean “subsequent to the study of the Vedas” because it is contrary to the proof that the study of the Upanishads is not permissible without the previous study of the Vedic Mantras and the Brahmins and because there is no intrinsic sequence between the Vedic Karma-kanda and Vedic Jnan —Kanda. (From Swami Vivekananda — The Complete work: Vol VI pp205–10, 1986).

In Ramayana, a True Reading, the author confirms that even Swami Vivekananda and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru have stated unambiguously that the Ramayana is a myth depicting the lifelong struggle between the ancient Aryans (Brahmins) and Dravidians (the original Indians) Finally the Dravidians (the India's original sons of soil) were defeated by the Brahmins and Dravidians have become Shudras (low cast) and ended with lifelong slavery!

Only those who are born in India will have this CURSE. Is there any other part of the world which have this evil of slavery. They why alone in India this practice?

Only those who are born in India will have this CURSE. Is thereby any other part of the world which have this evil of slavery. They why alone in India this practice?

Why don't we call His Holiness Shankaracharya as "MAHATHMA" Shankaracharya's remark won't bother either Christians and Muslims. It is only for the 80% low caste people other than Brahmins)

RAJANEESH

An internationally famous SEX SWAMI. He needs no introduction. He preaches free sex, involving orgies. His teaching are that before life comes to an end, one should indulge in sexual activities as many times as is humanly possible. And this he claimed is what is blissful, heavenly life. He is a true swami in that he not only preached but also actively involved in practicing. To the sex perverted west, he is a sexual God incarnate. It is little wonder that this "god man" owned over ninety Rolls Royces and a branch in America.

Since he has come to India after enjoying a lot, like to request the Government of India to send him for an AIDS test.

SAI BABA

He is a magician like any other magician, but performance every thing in his own name and claims he is God. On the other hand leading magicians like Prof Pakyanath and Prof P.C. Sarcar challenged Sai baba many times that they too would perform the same tricks but would not claim themselves as God's work. If you have ever witnessed a Russian magic show, you would simply agree that they perform tricks of a similar nature or even better in order to entertain the audience. At the end of the show they

also explain and educate the audience as to how these tricks are performed. If Sai baba is capable of performing the same Russian tricks he would have by now claimed that he is the only God in the universe.

Unfortunately, he has claimed without the use of Russian tricks, and the ignorant and simple Hindus have accepted his claim. Prof. Rao of Andhra University claims that the illiterate Hindu masses of Andhra's are so prepared to believe everything that is said in the name of God and never raise a question to know the truth. He continues, that in Hinduism you can make people believe in anything in the name of religion.

One of Sai Baba's devotee recently claimed that SAI BABA can solve any problem with his "INSTANT VIBOOTHU (Cow dung burnt into ash)"

Usually like any other magician, he used to bring the VIBOOTHU instantly. If he is bringing out any food (at least one BANANA, he could have solved one man's food problem). But unfortunately a man cannot eat VIBOOTHU for his hunger. We will therefore request SAI BABA to produce food items so that at least he can satisfy the hunger of his devotees.

odly man. But after mere prediction, how can he claim that I have predicated this and that. There are so many predications that he uttered including the South India's water problems, so far nothing has come true yet!

CHALLENGE TO SAI BABA!

We CHALLENGE Sai Baba to solve Punjab problem, water problem, communal

violence problem and then we agree that he is a GODLY MAN.

MAHARISHI

Another International Jet setting SWAMI who has millions of dollars worth property and branches of his sect all over the world.

We appreciate his links because they earn us a lot of foreign exchange!

ALL GodMEN are claiming psychological victory over the innocent Hindus.

MAHARISHI has got a very kind heart to save the problems of other countries. He advertises his intention in the international magazines like Readers Digest, newsweek etc, paying not less than Us \$ 10,000.00 (Rs. 1,000,000.00) per page, claiming that he is capable of solving any problem of the country. Accordingly he solved the problem of Marcos (Philippines) and now he is talking rest in Hawaii!

How about solving problems By MAHARISHI in India which is his own mother land? If he is a true HOLY MAN, he should attend to his own religion/country's problems first!

BOOK ON MAHARISHI & SAI BABA BANNED!

In order to have a clear picture of both SAI BABA and MAHARISHI, please go through the low priced book LORD OF THE AIR by Tal Brooke (Price 95p)Lion Publishing, 121 High Street, Berkhamsted, Herts, England. Unfortunately this book has been banned by the Government of India.

SPIRITUAL FRAUDS

Dr. Abraham Kovoov has explained in details with full of evidences about the spiritual frauds of Hindu Godmen. His books (beg one Godmen (Encounters with spiritual frauds) and Gods demons and spirits are available from JAJCO PUBLISHING HOUSE, 121, MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD, BOMBAY 400 023

You must read these books!

HARE RAMA HARE KRISHNA MOVEMENT

This group is now attracting hundreds of drugs addicts in United States and other European Countries. Like the Hindu Saints (Sanyasis) of Kasi (Varnasi) they are always smoking and taking all sorts of drugs in different forms.

A very recent report (UNI 15-8-1987) said under the heading of SECT CHIEF IS CONVICTED KILLER that Hare Krishna's chief of (ISKCON WITH 5,000 FOLLOWERS) is a convicted killer and drug dealer. The swami, 38 year old, Thomas Drescher is imprisoned at the West Virginia state penitentiary for gunning down Steven Bryant, 33 in Los Angeles. Also Drescher was convicted in 1979 of manufacturing and distributing drugs and was found guilty last January of the 1983 slaying of a Krishna devotee. Finally the report concludes stating since 1977, seven of the original 11 gurus named by the HARE RAMA HARE KRISHNA MOVEMENT (Movement's founder have been removed for reasons ranging from CHILD abuse, DRUG dealing and SEXUAL promiscuity. The sect has also been strained by POWER SMUGGLES.

DHIRENDRA. BRAHMACHARI

This young HOLY MAN has got all the qualities of a hero. Like Maharishi, he also worried about the individual problems of Hollywood Actors and Actresses, Multi-millionaires and the people of world fame. If anything happens to them, immediately the upper eye lid gives signal to him and he reaches them in a chartered private jet. Recently people like Elizebeth Taylor, Adnan Khashoughi and some other leading people had problems misses to take a picture and made sure that it is appearing in international magazines like Time and Newsweek. He was also the advisor of Ex Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi. If he is really a MANGOD, why he does not care to attend to some of India's problems as well.

(The author has very high appreciation for the following GodLY MEN in preference to that any other GodLYMEN:

1. RAJNEESH (THE SEX GodLY MAN)
2. MAHRISH (THE FLYINC GodLY MAN)
3. DHIRENDRA BRAHMACHARI (THE HOLYWOOD MILLIONAIRE CUM GodLY MAN)

Because these GodLY MEN are earning a lot of FOREIGN EXCHANGE to India and why should we care about how they FOOL and CHEAT the world!.

HINDU YOGIS OF KASI (BANARAS)

Look at the conditions of Hindu Yogis in Kasi. Most of Hindus Naked ! Drugs addicted

Living by begging.

Do you know who are these Yogis. Most of them have abandoned their families “as is where is” condition. Who will help these distitute families? Is this the way of Hindu Saints?

THE SHOKLNG ASIA

To know more about the details of the Hindu Holymen and Yogis better see the documentary on Video–THE SHOKING ASIA— which is available from the following addresses: Atlas International film GMBH, Munich OR Replay Video, London OR distribution First Film Organization, Hong Kong. You must see this video to know more about Hinduism and its Yogis.

N.T. RAMA RAO

Take NT. Rama Rao (Andhra Cinema actor), who is playing Godly roles in Telugu films, and is now worshipped in hundreds of homes throughout Andhra. For any Telugu, NTR is God incarnate. If you ask any Telugu Hindu to describe god, he says that God will be in NTR’s shape.

PROF. CHINMAYNANDA

Even Hindu Scholars like Prof Chinmayananda, knowing the draw-backs and unsound truths of Hinduism very well, refuse to meet or discuss with any Christian Scholars. The recent Delhi University incident is a indicator to the capabilities of such scholars.

If any scholars were to ask Prof Chinmayananda or any other leading Hindu Scholars the following questions, what kind of answers would they give? Let us see!

1. What is Hinduism?
2. Why is Brahmin High Caste?
3. Why is Shudra low Caste?
4. Will you allow your daughter to marry a shudra?
5. What is a Lingam?
6. What is a Yoni?
7. How can God Siva chop off his son's head?
8. How come God Rama be so ignorant as not to know that the deer in disguise is Sukrievan?
9. Is the moon on the top of Himalaya?
10. Is Rama an Indian?
11. What is the Hindu solution for divorce, drinking and other vices?
12. Why Lord Krishna is fond of gazing at the naked virgin milk maids?
13. Has Hinduism answers for today's many problems?
14. Why do not you ever agree for any friendly dialogue with other religious scholars?
15. Why has Hinduism thousand of Gods?
16. Who wrote Vedas, Puranas and Mahabharath & Ramayana?
17. Why this literatures make no mention of any of the Sons of the Soil of India?
18. Was Hinduism born in India itself, or was it imported from Central Asia via Khyber Pass?
19. What is the relationship between Aryans of India (Brahmins) and Aryans of

Germany (Hitlers Naozis)?

20. Why Brahmins and Hitler's Naozis have the same symbol of Swastika?
21. Does India belong to the Indians or Brahmins?
22. Why Indian Gods never complain to the Police for being smuggled to Western museums?
23. Are you a Brahmin or Aryan?
24. Do you believe, Hinduism is a religion?
25. What good has Hinduism done to India?
26. Why Hinduism has lost more than 20% of India's population to Christianity and Islam?
27. With all these doubts, discrepancies and faults, how can other religions in India be laughed at?
28. Who is more powerful God Rama or the Devil Rawana?
29. Would you dare to read the narration of how God Rama described the body of Sita to your daughter or sister?

MIRACLE MAN

DPA News (6.11.86) reports that Police have arrested a "miracle man" in the Western Indian city of Pune for raping a number of women on the pretext of solving their troubles by making them sit naked before an idol which was supposed to render "divine advice" While he held a blank sheet of paper over a fire on which written words would appear. He would then convince the women to have sex with him on the strength of the "miracle". Police discovered that his "divine advance" was nothing but a simple chemical trick by which words written on paper with invisible ink became legible on being held over a flame.

BOGUS Gods

Brahmins are so cunning to design everything in their favor. Let us see some interesting funny incidents. In Calcutta one man publicly announced that God has appeared in his dream and he is going to appear to the public very soon and he started sprinkling water on ground continuously. At first no one took any care about his words. Then some people noticed a slight crack on the ground. After two days they saw some thing coming out of the ground, slowly but steadily. The fourth day they saw a statue's head on the ground coming out slowly. The whole media which belongs to the Brahmins have praised this statue and even gave a name to this God. The man who announced this was getting thousands of visitors from all parts of Calcutta and his collection was very good. When the statue had come out three fourth, the announcer stopped sprinkling water on the statue. But the other devotees started pouring milk over the statue. Though the Pujari tried to stop them, but he could not do anything. The seventh day the whole statue had come out and the police tried their level best to control the crowd. The eighth day they found one gunny bag full of black gram which was raising the statue when the water was poured on that. The police and the public found out this trick and booked a case against that Pujari. But before that he disappeared along with his good collection.

A similar incident at Madras (I. Nagar, a Brahmin area) has happened and as usual the Brahmin media brought out the news to the public. Dr. M. Karunanidhi, the then Chief Minister handled this matter so efficiently and booked the culprit but also found out the reason. The culprit was an ex policeman and he was induced by a Brahmin who wanted to stop the construction of a mosque at that place.

LINGAM & YONI

Do you know what is Lingam? Better see the Oxford Dictionary.

There are so many Lingam, viz siva Lingam, Rama Lingam, etc. (Lingam means male sexual organ–penis). In Hinduism people can worship everything. Also they pour over the God's lingam milk, ghee and Panchamirtham etc. Even people name their children as Siva Lingam (God Siva's sexual organ), Rama Lingam (God Rama's sexual organ) and so on.

Also do you know what is Yoni? Oxford dictionary offers no meaning, but Webster dictionary has,. (Yoni means female sexual organ)

1. That the Ramayana is not sacred book
2. That Rama and Sita are despicable characters, not worthy of imitation or admiration even by the lowest of humans.
3. That Ravana was an excellent character.

According to the Ramayana, King Dasarathan had no son and he made a big sacrifice (Yaham) of sheep, cattle, horses, birds and snakes. Yaham is according to Yaga Shastras. The loath some description of it can be found in the book "Gnana Surian" published in the "Kudi Arasu" press. At day-dawn Dasaratha made a present, rather as fees for the performance of the Yagam, his first wife, Kausalya and with his other two wives, Sumatirai and Kaikeyi, to three priests named Hotha, Advaryu and Yukdha. These priests having done full justice to their animal passion delivered the ladies back

to the king who made no bones about it (Balakandarn, 14th Chapter).

Why then a Yagam for getting children by this means? To corroborate this, Dasaratha at the time of the Yagam was sixty thousand years old and had sixty thousand wives. This is according to Kamban, but according to Valmiki (original author) he had three hundred and fifty wives. Then the three ladies were delivered three sons viz. Ravana, Lakshmana & Bharata. According to Brahmin Dharma, if a Brahmin woman is childless she may beget children by other men subject to certain conditions. Laid down in the Shastras. Take Sita's birth. Sita's mother by the help of some unknown husband begot Sita and the child was thrown away in a forest. Sita herself confessed that her marriage had been delayed because of her unknown parentage.

PORNOGRAPHY IN RAMAYANA

Dr. Charles claims that Ramayana is a book on pornography which cannot be read in public, cannot be read by a daughter to her father, a son to his mother, a sister to her brother and so on. Few of Dr. Charles examples are as follows:

Read Ravana's appreciation of Sita's beauty in which he narrates her body part by part. For decency's sake, it cannot be written here! Anyhow please go through (Any how please go through C.R. Srinivasa Iyengar's translation, (Aranya Kandana. Chapter 46, pages 139 * 140 and soon.

Also in Kishkinda kanda, Rama explains to Lakshmana how Sita had good times with Rama and so on. Chapter 1, Pages 2,4,& 5).

When God Rama went to the forest, the girls were crazy and wanted to have sex with God Rama were worried too much. Ramayana says that was gushing out from their private parts. For decency sake we are not elaborating further. To disprove our above claim please read Ramayana.

INCEST IN RAMAYANA

In Ramayana, the unlawful relationship (Guest) has been shown beyond doubt and we do not want to go in to details. Anyhow to make it convenient, please go through Aranya Kandam, Chapter 45, Versus 122,123,124,125 to name a few).

RAMAYANA IS THE CULTURE OF ARYANS BRAHMINS

Again Dr. Charles claims that Ramayana is nothing but the culture and way of life of aryans (Brahmins) which not only spoils the original sons of India but is still having the impact on India. According to Ramayana, the Aryans Brahmins) used to drink liquor (9 different kinds), used to eat meat, used to have so many wives, and prostitution was a way of life to the Rishis Priests and even for Gods.

VEDAS & CONTRADICTIONS

There are four Vedas viz. Rig Veda, Sama Veda, Athervann Veda, Yjur Veda, Swami Dayanand founder of the Hindu “reformist” movement, the Arya Sainaj (Aryan Society) found them pure and full of wisdom. Yajur Veda in particular is recommended by him to seek inspiration and guidance. Yajur Veda classifies all non-Hindus enemies. At the time when they were compiled all non-Aryans were regarded as enemies. The

Dravidians were one such group. Later when reformists like Buddha and others renounced the vedantic way of life these list of enemies was widened.

Yajur Veda defines Vedic principles and relationship with its enemies in several verses.

“O King, burn alive all the enemies of religion. O mighty ruler, burn those like a dry wooden stick who support our enemies”. (13/12).

“O learned men uproot your enemies and destroy the places which give them sustenance.” (13/13).

When we hate anyone, or when we are annoyed or troubled by others we hurt them and inflict pain upon them like a cat chews a mouse in her mouth.” (65/66/16).

“O people kill your enemies by all means because only then you will live in comfort. (28/1)

Veda says a true Brahmin is not supposed to cross the sea and that is why God Rama (Brahmin requested God Hanuman (the Brother killer) to build a bridge to Sri Lanka. Is it applicable in this twentieth century? Now millions of Brahmins have crossed the seas hundreds of times and earning great fortunes all over the world.

The Bhagwat Gita (IV 48–53–54) says there is no need for knowledge or even the study of the Vedas . Even the worst shunk will get the God’s blessings provided he has the faith. That means there is no respect for scholarship or devotion but only

faith unquestioned faith, blind faith. No need for inquiry, no need for reasoning. What fantastic theory!

Upanishads declare the world as unreal. If the world is not there at all, if neither the doer nor the doer nor the object of the deed is at all existent, then where is the question of performing duties? (Arun Shourie, Hinduism” Vikas 4979 page 168)

UNSCIENTIFIC –CLAIMS

Always Brahmins are having a tendency to claim everything in the name of SCIENCE.

But the Scientist, Doctors and Specialists claims otherwise. First of all any man with common sense won't agree on these claims originated by these BRAHMINS. To name a few, here are some examples:

Christianity and Islam are not against science and technology.

VIBOOTHY (COW DUNG ASH)

You might have heard these Brahmins CLAIMING that viboothi has medical value. When samples were sent to West Germany's leading testing laboratory they said “there is nothing special in these ashes. They have the same content as that of any shit (including human shit) burned into ashes.

URINE DRINKING

One erstwhile Prime Minister Morarji Desai (Brahmin) boasted that he was drinking his own urine (Only one ounce a day but pure and fresh) daily in the morning and quoting the Vedas claim that one's own urine has got medicinal value.

With the same claim the Brahmins/RSS are drinking cow's urine as if it is a DAILY MORNING TONIC.

No scientists ever claimed that urine has any medical value On the Contrary it is a well known fact that urine is the unwanted organic substance and human waste which has to be discharged out. If it has any medical value as claimed by Morarji Desai naturally the human body itself would have absorbed it. If urine has my medical value, then the human shit also might have some medical value.

Because of the misguiding Vedas and puranas, the whole world laughed at the Indians as Urine Drinkers.

COCO COLA or PISS COLA!

When the Indian Government had problems with the Coco Cola Company, the Coco Cola executive said during a news conference (CNN News), It is not COCO COLA or PEPSI COLA but PISS COLA". May be because of Morarji Desai's PISS COLA, India has cancelled our trade license for the CCOCO COLA Company.

SUN WORSHIPPING & INDIA'S BLINDNESS

Vedas and Puranas says that all Hindus must pray to the sun God (God SURYA) and if

you look at the sun daily directly every morning your eye sight will improve and accordingly most of the Hindus are doing this worship. But instead of the sight improvements, now India is the No.1 country which is having more blind people in the world (2.5 million blind people and 9 million cornea! blindness). There is no scientific truth in the sun worshipping and on the contrary the scientists and doctors advise every one not to look at the sun directly with the naked eyes. Who is telling us the truth, the Scientists or the Hindu religious books (Vedas)?

a number of diseases. But still the Brahmins claim the river Ganges as a sacred river and nothing can contaminate it. Then why is the Government of India spending millions of rupees to clean the dirty waters of River Ganges?

AFTER DEATH

Each and every religion has got a different opinion about life after death. We do not know exactly what will happen after death. After death, there is a normal growth hair and a dead body for some time. To be on the safe side, both Christians and Muslims bury their dead. Your dead body (if you are a Hindu) will be burnt to ashes when you die. Will you burn your finger if you are alive? Then how can your body be burnt to ash? Did any dead man tell you that there won't be any pain and you don't have to worry?

WHEN A HINDU DIES A TREE IS ALSO KILLED!

A.P News (India) dated 10-11-86 says:

When a Hindu dies in India, a medium sized tree also dies with him (normally it is more than one tree). Ecologists warn that forest loss seriously threatens the environment. And we already lost 32% of the Indian forest. Daily in India 21,000 Hindus are dying and taking with them 21,000 trees. By that measure, staggering 6.43 million kilograms of timber goes up in flames each day. The annual loss is 2.35 million tones. “How much pollution does, a body create when it is burning with wood? It spreads a foul smell everywhere.

The AP news adds” In a traditional cremation, besides the cost of the wood, there is a fee for the priest and a 13-day ceremony climaxing in a feast for a Minimum of 13 BRAHMINS (NOT for the poor low caste) the Hindu presently caste. Often the guest list runs into hundreds. Butter, oil and a variety of other materials are also needed for a traditional cremation. By one estimate the annual expense for cremation in India comes to \$ 158 million (Indian Rupees 200 crores).

On! Innocent Hindu, if you live subserviently the Brahmin will flourish, because you respect him, bow to him. In a nut shell, you are a born bonded slave to him. Even when you die you are feeding him. Why don't you feed the poor?

The next time you see a dead man burning remember that one day you are also going to be burnt to ashes in the same way.

If you instruct your family, they may save your body from burning. Also you will save a tree, which is a very big asset to India. May be the same tree will give shade to your grand children one day.

Since there are not sufficient trees, we miss most of our monsoons.

RAGHU COLAM (IN-AUSPICIOUS TIMES)

Why is there a Raghu colam (In-auspicious time) section in the newspapers in India? Who follows it in the world? Only Hinduism is following it and that too only in India. If the time between 8 and 9 is Raghu Colam on certain day, they will not do any work or leave home or attend any important business. Do westerners follow such an idiotic habit? How about Russians? No sensible passion follows such a time wasting billing faith in the name of religion.

PALMISTRY

Today's science proves that the people who believe on palmistry are easily subject to nervous disorders as they get easily excited on hearing the result of palmistry. Nowadays there are hundred of cheating system which causes a number of problems, particularly to women. According to the Indian Government Survey very year more than 13,000 cases are registered by the women for loss of money, jewels to the palmist. Also palmistry causes laziness and false mental satisfaction.

BLIND FAITHS & WITCHCRAFTS

Dr. Charles says that blind faith, with crafts are the main pillars of Hinduism. In most part of India blind faith has reached a NO RETURN POINT. The innocent Hindus believe on snake and lizard cult sort of beliefs. The Brahmin priests explain to the people, if the lizard fell on your head you would die or some one close to the person

would die and so on. But they never mention anything if it falls on the cooking food which makes the food poisonous.

CHAPTER V

HINDUISM

WHAT IS HINDUISM?

Religion is a “man to God” and not “man to man” relationship. But to reach God, treat in the fellow human beings with love, justice and equal right is the best way. Most of the religions are preaching the same way.

Unfortunately only Hinduism which was originated by the Brahmins is preaching that to reach God you must not love your fellow human being, you should not treat him with justice and you should not treat him with equal right and humanity. On the other hand it teaches us how to fool him, cheat him and enslave him in the name of Hinduism. With this technique only today 2% Brahmins are ruling 98% of India's population.

Who is the originator of Hinduism? Aryans (Brahmins) From where the Aryans came to India? From Central Asia, So before the arrival of the Aryans. India was not following Hinduism. Like Christianity, Buddhism, Sikhism and Islam, Hinduism is also new to India.

Before the arrival of ARYANS the DRAVIDIANS (original sons of the soil, i.e INDIANS) were worshipping one God only.

Hinduism is limited only to India as if India is the whole Universe. This religion has no universality. This cannot be the work of the creator. The human race is not confined to India. How can God give different conflicting instructions to different people and yet demand obedience to Him. In no place it is mentioned (except Sri Lanka and Nepal). This itself shows its limited world-view. Dr. Charles says that Hinduism is "Frog in a well". You be the judge.

Shiva, Rama and the other Gods may be part of the old stories of the past. But they have nothing to do with God and their so called book are not God's words

HINDUISM-NO HISTORICAL PROOF

Is there any historical documentary evidence that Rama ruled India? No. Can the so called Brahmin Scholars quote any Western historian to their support? On the other hand they tell us without any historical evidence. That an Aryan (god Rama) had ruled India.

Since Rama was a Brahmin he would have come from Central Asia as any other Aryan. Hence he is an invader. How can Rama claim India to be his.

SANSKRIT AND BRAHMINS

Sanskrit is a dead language and the Brahmins/RSS are trying to resuscitate it.

We will tell you some thing that you won't believe, which you can confirm later with a Brahmin. The Veda says that a low caste person is not supposed to read either the

Veda or Purana in Sanskrit. If he wants, karpooram has to be kept in his tongue and burnt.

When the Vedas and Puranas which are written in Sanskrit forbids the low caste Hindus reading any Hindu Holy books why should India preserve Sanskrit which is already a dead language?

BRAHMIN AND HIS COW

Vedas say the cow is holy and should be worshipped and that all Hindus should drink its urine. Even today ignorant Hindus are smearing their homes with cow dung. They campaign not to beef.

In India people are going hungry dying of malnutrition as there is not much food available. Why can't the lower class Hindu eat beef. Is beef better or pork? Instead of helping these innocent low casts, these selfish Brahmin's are trying to save cows. Because the Vedas and Puranas says so!

SEX WITH COW

In many Hindu temples there are sculptures depicting man having sex not only with women but with cows. What is the meaning of this? Is the cow sacred? Is it a God? If it is then it should be worshipped not sexually assaulted.

HINDUISM AND SYGLEN

Take a close look at the temples. Are they clean ? Do you consider them hygienic place where God can reside?

TODAY'S BRAHMIN EATS EGGS!

A leading Hindu Priest declared the egg a vegetable and is therefore eatable. The next day the price of eggs rose like anything.

When you worship the cow then what about the goat and other animals? Are they not useful to humanity?

PERIAR VS RAJAJI

As a TRUE INDIAN, today you must remember PERIAR and RAJAGOPALACHARI RAJAJI). Periar was great reformist and Rajaji was a person in power who insisted that the Puranas and Veda should be implemented. Periar, and ordinary Indian citizen, without any official power, made each and every Indian to have self respect and act as any Other Indian Citizen with equal rights. And TODAY HE has ACHIEVED MOST OF HIS DREAMS. On the other have Mr. Rajaji who was in power as the First Governor General of India and Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, suggested that if your father is a BARBER, you must do ONLY a barber's work quoting the Vedas and Puranas. During those days the Brahmin news papers had supported Mr. Rajaji's suggestion as the ONLY WAY to solve INDIA'S UN-EMPLOYMENT PROBLEM. Remember, we INDIAN have poormemory and forget everything. Why is HITLER remembered today? Because even today, the JEWS are reminding us who is Hitler, so that once again such atrocities will not be repeated, what about others????

WOMEN IN HINDUISM

MANU SMRITI (BIBLE OF HINDU RELIGION ABOUT WOMEN)

Inequality and degradation of women are sanctified in the Hindu religion. Manu Smriti says:

Never trust a women

Never sit along with the women Even if it is your mother

She may tempt you.

Do not sit alone with your daughter,

She may temp you.

Do not sit alone with your sister

She may tempt you.

(If you are a good Brahmin, you must read this to your mother sister and daughter).

Again the same Manu Smiriti continues

‘Nothing to be given to your mother

and everything to be given to your wife”

(Can’t you realize tat today’s “WIFE” is tomorrows “MOTHER”?)

HINDU WOMEN KILLING

Mr. V.T. RAJASHEKHAR, the living revolutions; wrote in his book that the 53 year old Shah Banu case is one of the cases in the judicial history of India that caused more

concern to the Muslims of India. Just because their God Rama heard some rumor about his wife, he left Sita in the forest for 14 years. The Hindus are the worst male chauvinist pigs. The Hindu Gods are surrounded by women. For the upper east kings and landlords it used to be a privilege to take as many wives as possible.

Since the BRAHMIN MEDIA had made a big campaign as if every Muslim has this problem in their daily life, we give below the known facts to us about their religion to compare and bring back the Brahmin to his sense. How many similar cases have come out in the Indian Muslim History? It is one in a million. Let us analyze and compare Shah Banu case in general.

HINDU WOMEN vs MUSLIM WOMEN

1. If her husband dies, according to the Brahmin originated Vedas, she has to be cremated (sad) along with her DEAD husband. Once today's law forbids this, the society punishes her in following ways:
2. She is not supposed to remarry
3. She cannot wear colored saree or cloth or jewelry
4. She is considered as a curse and is not desirable in the public places and functions. Even she cannot take part in her children's marriage!
5. She has no right to divorce her husband

6. She has no property rights
7. A Hindu women has no inheritance rights
8. More and more dowry killings are happening daily.
9. Marriage is allowed within their own caste ONLY (not within the religion)
10. Mixed marriage is not only forbidden but also discouraged
11. Child marriage was encouraged

MUSLIM WOMEN:

1. If her husband dies, she is encouraged to remarry and her remarriage is the responsibility of the Muslim society. Islam recognizes the need of a young widow and insist the remarriage which is the only way to control many evils.
2. The Muslim women have the same right as the Muslim man in all matters including DIVORCE. Also their Quran say though divorce is allowed in Islam, the most unpleasant act is divorce. That is why the Muslims have the lowest rate of the people who divorce in any continent of this world.
3. She has every property right and can own property; do separate business even if she is married.

4. A women has the rights of inheritance of her parents. (Many of the religion do not give the right of the property' to their women)
5. Special order of God almighty were given to their children that they should win the love of their mother and stressed that the heaven is under the feet of the mothers.
6. Husband should give full right to his wife.
7. There is not even a single case of dowry killing in the Muslim Community.
8. A Muslim is allowed to marry any one and the only condition is he/she should not be an idol worshiper.
9. Mixed marriage is encouraged.
10. Child marriage is treated as a sin.
- II. Morality is controlled well as the religion itself insists tat a lady should wear proper dress.

Finally Mr. Rajashekar questions that rights the Hindus have to criticize the Muslims? Have you ever heard a Muslim burning his wife? Every day we read in the paper about dowry deaths Hindu women being burnt by the husband or in laws. It is a fact that upper caste Hindus illiterate their women. The Brahmin press have brain washed all of us saying that the muslims do not give freedom to the women. He again questions,

“Due the Hindus respect their women” You be the judge!

BABY GIRLS KILLING

The Times of India reported recently that the murder of new born baby girls is still common practice in the northwest Indian state of Rajasthan. The paper said that immediately after birth mid wives place small sacts of sand in the mouths of the unwanted infant girls, who then die of suffocation. According to the paper around 1,000 Hindu families in villages along the border Pakistan carry on the centuries old tradition. Suffocation is the most common method of killing the babies who are regarded as “useless eaters” although in some regions newborn girls are left to starve or given contaminated drinking water, the report said.

Have you ever heard that a Christian or Muslim killing their daughters? Never, Because religions are prohibiting such a cruel murder! Ask the so called Acharias what Hinduism is telling on such matters.

FOUR WIVES TO A BRARMIN!

AITREYA (Veda), BRAHMA VII, 29, Pages 201 VIDE M.M. Kunte says:

- A) A Brahmin is allowed to marry FOUR wives, a Kashatriya three wives, a Vaishya two wiyes and a Shudra one wife only according to Manu
- B) The Brahmans are ready totake gifts, quench thirst by drinking Soma (liquor) and ready to roam about every where according to their pleasure. They formed a fraternity.

BRAHIMINS/RSS have inflicted innumerable atrocities on Hindu women How? Let us see.

ATROCITIES TO HINDU WIDOWS!

If a man's wife dies, he will go and find other beautiful women as soon as possible. But if a man dies, not only she cannot REMARRY but be cremated along with dead husband (sati). Who is preaching this? Your famous Vedas. Ask all Hindu spiritual leaders(Oh! only a Brahmin can be a Hindu Spiritual Leader).

COMPULSORY "SATI"

A survey by a Calcutta Women Association reveals that most of the "Sati" are conducted compulsion of the dead Hindu husbands close relatives irrespective of the young widows protests to commit such suicide. Though the Indian Law prohibits such cruel act, never in Indian history any of the dead Hindu husband's close relatives punished for forcing such crimes in the name of religion. This has been confirmed by various in the name of religion. This has been confirmed by various Women educational institutions. Instead of discouraging such acts, the Brahmin media, support and highlight such instances basing on their famous vedas and puranas.

Times of India reports on 6.9.1987: JAIPUR—what appeared to be arrival of centuries-old custom of "Sati", a young women belonging to a warrior caste of Rajasthan climbed into the funeral pyre of her husband, police said yesterday. Eighteen-year old Roop Kanwar's husband, mansingh, had died in a hospital Sikar district on Friday. His body

was later taken to his home village at Diwrala for cremation. Roop Kanwar sat on the funeral pyre while it was lit by one of her relatives. Hundreds of villagers who knew of her “Sati” well in advance gathered at the spot shouting slogans in praise of the burning widow. Police, who claimed to have received the information late, registered a case against four close relatives of Mansingh for having helped Roop Kanwar commit her “Sati” (suicide) ^{UNL}.

(If the teenage Roop Kanwar was a non-Hindu, she will be living for many more years. Can you show me a man who committed Sati on the death of his wife?—
Cahhtetjee)

Also a widow cannot wear colored sari, bangles, jewelry. She is looked upon as a curse and is considered unlucky, hence to be avoided. In addition her head should be clean shaved.

Before the British invasion, how many women had died or been killed because of the Brahmin based vedas.

Who has stopped this idiotic practice in India. No one.

But for Raja Rammohan Roy and Lord Pendergast. This cruel system would have continued even to this day. Although “SATI” is outlawed, we have even to this day some isolated cases of “sati” Widows were not allowed to remarry. Women, not excluding Brahmin women, were the worst victims of this Brahmin law. Therefore women. Particularly the Brahmin women, should consider the destruction of Brahminism their primary goal in life. It is only when Brahminism is DEAD true liberation of women can take place. Women libbers, please not. (Courtesy:

Brahminism by V. T. Rajashekar).

Oh ! Indian Hindu Women, remember Lord Pending.

Brahmins/RSS are laughing at other religions saying that. There is no future for women in other religions.

ATROCITIES TO THEIR (BRAHMIN) WOMEN.

The atrocities to their women is the first curse to the whole of Brahminism. In their society they suffer like a dog. To day if the woman wants to marry she has to pay the man a lot of things, money., materials, jewels, and so on. Of course in other castes also this system is there. But in Brahrninism it is unbearable. Let us see the results because of the Brahmin atrocities.

According to the Government Mixed Marriage Statistics more brahmin women marry non-brahmin. Last year (1986) all over India more then 13,700 brahmin women

(Sensored).....

Elsewhere that she has run away, has committed adultery, entered into prostitution. Or was murdered etc.

DR. LAKSHMI'S ADVICE TO BRAHMIN WOMEN

Dr. Lakshmi, a well known gynecologist and social worker from Delhi who herself is a Brahmin and got married at the age of 37. (she admits herself) suggests the other Brahmin women to come out of the shell and act as their own since she claims that their corroded thoughts won't save them at all.

SECOND HAND SPOUSES!

Dr. Lakshmi again claims that most of the women who get married after 25, are not virgins, Most of the Brahmin women get married at 30. For this the Brahmin male also responsible who finally gets SECOND HAND SPOUSES. She challenges that it is against the nature of the human physical body. Also she says it is the responsibility of the society to get them married as in other religions. She says if you are a Hindu women, you cannot love anyone you like; you cannot marry anyone whom you choose. Your birth sign (stars) should match your mates birth sign. In addition you should meet the unbearable dowry demand. What a funny idea ? Is there anyone in the West or Middle East follow this? Are they not happy? Because of Hindu Vedas and senseless customs basing on the religion, Hinduism haslost a number of its children to other religions. Finally she says that she can produce the proof of those who succeeded after coming out their own self made shells. As a Brahmin you fool and harm yourself in the mane of religion and customs till you die.

LEGAL RIGHTS OF HINDU WOMEN

According to Hindu Vedas and Puranas, a HINDU WOMEN has no right to DIVORCE and REMARRIAGE even after her husband's death. Whether she likes or not, she has to be a bonded wife till her death. On the other hand her husband can have upto four

wives. To-days Indian government Laws allow a man or women the right to divorce and IGNORE the Hindu Vedas and Puranas.

Forgetting the atrocities to the Hindu women by the Hindu Vedas and Puranas, the BRAHMIN owned media is now criticizing and fighting for the rights of other religious women. What a pity!

The Times of India (30487) “ Liberating law for Hindu Women says: No doubt, the Hindu widow is subjected to unto a misery and contempt both by Society and her relatives, on par with the male.

BEING A HINDU WOMAN ITSELF IS A CURSE!

OH 1 HINDU INNOCENT SISTER !! HENDUISM WILL NEVER SAVE
YOU FROM ALL THESE EVILS. ON THE OTHER HAND IT WILL HARM
YOU HARSHLY TILL YOU DIE REMEMBER IT IS A CHALLENGE !!!
WHETER YOU BELIVE IT OR NOT.

CHILD MARRAGE

These Brahmins have started child marriage system and it has cause to the young children innumerable problems.

WORSHIPING RIGHTS IN THE TEMPLES

If you are a RICH person able to pay a fee, you can go inside the temple and SHAKE

HANDS with Gods. But if you are a poor man , you have to see the God after standing a long time in a queue. If you are a low caste (untouchable) you cannot even enter the temple. You must perform your prayer from out side only.

Who can perform the rituals it only Brahmins. In some parts of India some good leaders insisted that the other common Hindu can also do the rituals, but they have failed in achieving their aim.

Who can perform the marriage ceremony? O! only Brahmins. Otherwise the marriage will be broken the next day

HOW BRAHMIN SHOULD BE TREATED DURING WARS?

Our famous Puranas have given valuable guidance on how to act during war.

Puranas say:

They should not harm children, women cows, and some one else Guess ! Who ?

BRAHMINS

It means if there is a Brahmin on the enemy's side, you must spare him, because he is of high caste and the Puranas forbid it.

YAHAM

Recently in Coimbatore (Madras state) a big Yagam was conducted by spending 10 Lakh Rupees. In the, tonnes of food items such as rice, ghee, and other food was burnt in the Yagam We would have appreciated it if the food or money was distributed to the poor. When people are dieing without food, how can you throw the food into the fire in the name of your religion, instead of distributing them to the poor?

HINDUISM IS NOT A RELIGION

It may be true that the Ramayna and Mahabarath are famous stories of the past. But there is no scientific proof to authenticate such stories. For example. If Hanuman built a bridge, where is it now ? All the above stories are saying as though India was the whole Universe. How can one accept that a river and moon is on the head of Lord Shiva. If the river is on Siva's head the moon also should be next to that, i. e. on the Himalayas!

HINDUISM IS NOT A PRACTICABLE FOR TODAY!

Puranas and Vedas say that a true BRAHMIN is not supposed to cross the seas. That is why God Rama didn't go to Sri Lanka by boat. Instead he requested Hanuman to build a bridge which took 12 years. It is possible today? Most of the Indian airline pilots are Brahmins and today Brahmins are working all over the world. May be these Brahmins also would have built bridges to America and Middle East like God Rama!

Now Achriyars (Brahmin Priest) have passed a resolution saying that the EGG is a vegetable food. Tomorrow another resolution will follow saying that the meat is also a

vegetarian food. Today in North India most of the Brahmins are eating BEEF daily. Also the Bengali Brahmins are eating fish claiming it as water flower. What these proving? These prove that HINDUISM cannot be practiced in today's life.

Also SATI has been banned Brahmin women not only remarry. But also many men from other religions. Devadasi and Bonded Labor systems are disappearing. Because of the earlier mentioned leaders and reformists, today. Many Hindus (even so called low caste Hindus — according to Brahmins) are very good administrators, scientists, collectors and are proving that they are also capable person. Today, not only are the low caste Hindus entering into the Hindu temples, but are working as a HINDU PRIESTS There are thousands and thousands of such impossible practices which were mentioned in Puranas and Vedas that cannot be practiced in today's life which is known to you very well.

QUESTION & ANSWER

Whenever the Brahmin/RSS instigates you, ask yourself these questions.

Q – Why should I harm Christians and Muslims?

A – To protect my God.

Q – Who Is my god?

A– Shiva the God. Who has the moon and the river Ganges on his head and who cannot identify his own son. Also the American Astronaut Armstrong has already landed on the moon which is on the head of God Shiva. Do you believe this?

Rama who cannot identify Sukrieven who came in disguise who cannot save his wife

and eventually saved her from Rawana after 12 years with the help of

Hanuman — (we do not know whether Rawana has assaulted Sita during these 12 years.

Also instead of crossing the sea by boat, he made a bridge to go to Sri Lanka If Rawana had taken Sita to the United State what would Rama have done !. How did Rawana cross the sea ? O.K. , so we believe all of this Where is the bridge the Rama built? (purana also says a Hindu should not cross any sea). Is it possible today?

Krishna — the “ playboy God” (according to Dr.Charles) who used to take away the clothes of girls in their bathing places and watch the fun.

So to save these Gods, you are going to harm your fellow being s and countrymen, because these Brahmins tell you to do so.

Please, for you and your family’s sake think twice before you do such silly things.

YOUR CHILDREN’S FUTURE

Are you a rich person to leave them property in your will?

Are your children getting a good education?

Can he/she get a good job?

The poor low caste Hindu can give their children only illitracy liabilities, sickness. That is all.

REMEMBER when we were ruled by the British we were getting equally including the punishment. But now it has changed from the BARAHMIN. LOOK AT YOURSELF! What a pity!!!

It is really unfortunate and sad that the Non—Brahmins. i.e. majority of Hindus are not realizing their potentiality and POWER with them which can be used for their own welfare.

My dear Christian and Muslim brothers, if you want to know more about Hinduism, read Ramayan, Mahabarath Puranas and Vedas. This is the best way to correct them.

EVIDENCES OF BRAHMINS ATROCITIES

Golwalker's Book, " Bunch of Thoughts" ,(the Bible of RSS). Has listed the three "enemies of the Hindus: (I) Communists, (ii) Christians (iii) Muslims. Major Vedantam has written, a book. "Christianity, a Political Problems ". (32 II main Road East CIT Nagar, Madras 600 035). According to him, Christian are the single biggest threat to India. EVERY CHRISTIAN MUST READ THIS BOOK.

Always the BRAHMIN MEDIA campaigning against Christianity and Islam. The Brahmin media highlights the campaign in their own civilized methods Can't you see that 20% of India is converted to Christianity and Islam and there are thousand of churches and mosques all over India. Do they not belong to India? Fight against them and ask how they can occupy our Hindu boomi.

The Brahmins and RSS have instigated the innocent Hindus to make problems to not only a Mandaikkadu and kollendodu but also Babri Masjid and other worshipping

places. In all cases. The Brahmin owned newspapers justified the Brahmin/RSS violences.